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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Editors have annexed to this Number, a Liſt of all the Books that have been publiſhed in this country during the laſt three months, and of the moſt conſiderable works that have yet reached them from the Continent. The Liſt, as it ſtands, is unqueſtionably the moſt complete that has yet been preſented to the Public; and the Editors have it in contemplation to enlarge it, in ſome of the ſucceeding Numbers, by the addition of very brief characters of ſuch of the new works as have been peruſed, and are not thought to require a more extenſive diſcuſſion.

24. *October* 1803.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER 1803.

N° V.

ART. I. *Lectures on the Elements of Chemiſtry, delivered in the Univerſity of Edinburgh, by the late Joſeph Black, M. D. &c. &c. &c. Now publiſhed from his MSS. by John Robiſon, LL.D. Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Edinburgh.* 2 vol. 4to. pp. 1384. Longman & Rees, London. Creech, Edinburgh. 1803.

IN performing the duties of Editor to the diſcourſes of his departed friend, Profeſſor Robiſon had peculiar difficulties to overcome. With a few exceptions, Dr Black's lectures were left in a very diſordered and imperfect ſtate; generally written indiſtinctly upon ſcraps of paper; often in the form of notes or memorandums, from which he had ſpoken extempore; frequently conſiſting of references to the experiments that went on during the leſſon.

To counterbalance theſe diſadvantages, the Editor poſſeſſed ſome very important qualifications and happy facilities. He had known Dr Black moſt intimately for a long courſe of years; during which he had been, firſt, his favourite pupil, then his ſucceſſor, and, laſtly, his colleague. He enjoyed the friendſhip of the diſtinguiſhed circle of philoſophers among whom this great man, after achieving the moſt brilliant diſcoveries of modern times, happily and elegantly paſſed the quiet remainder of his days. From theſe friends, Mr Robiſon obtained all the information and aſſiſtance that the nature of his office required. He had free acceſs to every document which could enable him to furniſh the public with an accurate tranſcript of theſe celebrated lectures, or to aid his own recollections in preſenting a ſketch of their author, and in completing a hiſtory of the ſteps by which his diſcoveries were made. By a coincidence, equally rare and fortunate, journals of Dr Black's ſcientific purſuits were preſerved from the time of his firſt application to ſpeculative matters; and Mr Robiſon has been enabled to ſupply ſome of the dates

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which were of importance, from his own recollection of incidents caſually ſet down.

'There are ſome in which he ſeems to have inſerted every thing as it took his fancy, in medicine, chemiſtry, juriſprudence, or matters of taſte; and I find others into which he has transferred the ſame things, but has diſtributed them according to their ſcientific connexions. In ſhort, he has kept a journal and leger of his ſtudies, and has poſted his books like a merchant. I have looked over theſe memorandums with ſome care, and have there ſeen the firſt germs of thoſe diſcoveries which have at laſt produced ſuch a complete revolution in chemical ſcience. What particularly ſtruck me, was the ſteadineſs with which he advanced in any path of knowledge,—*nulla retrorſum.* Things are inſerted for the firſt time, from ſome preſent impreſſion of their ſingularity or importance, but without any alluſion to their connexions. When a thing of the ſame kind is mentioned again, there is generally a reference back to its fellow; and thus the moſt inſulated facts often acquired a connexion which gave them ſcientific importance.' Preface, p. xxii. xxiii.

Mr Robiſon has performed the duty entruſted to him by his friend's executors, in ſuch a manner as muſt entitle him not merely to their thanks, but to the laſting gratitude of the ſcientific world. He has preſented us with a very full, and apparently a very accurate collection, of the moſt valuable parts of the lectures, as nearly as poſſible in the very words of the teacher. He has faithfully adhered to the arrangement of the courſe, except in two inſtances, where a ſlight change ſeems to be perfectly juſtified by the convenience which attends it. His preface contains a clear and compendious account of the import of Dr Black's diſcoveries, and a very intereſting ſketch of his life. In the foot-notes, he has occaſionally added to the rich collection of facts and obſervations contained in the text, ſeveral valuable remarks and ſtatements ſuggeſted by his own experience. In the more copious notes ſubjoined to each volume, he has introduced various diſcuſſions of the higheſt importance both to the elucidation of the general ſubject, and the eſtabliſhment of leading points in the hiſtory of the ſcience. Let our ſcientific readers conſider, how much of all this conſiſts in mere labour, unrepaid by the peculiar reward of genius; and let them remember that Mr Robiſon's talents are as original as his acquirements are various and profound: they will then be able to eſtimate the extent of the obligations under which he has laid them by editing this valuable work.

It would be perfectly inconſiſtent with our plan, and far exceed our limits, to analyze theſe lectures, or the commentaries of the editor, which, like the text, muſt neceſſarily be very miſcellaneous. We ſhall confine ourſelves to a few general obſervations on each of the two departments; and ſhall, in the firſt place, endeavour to make our readers acquainted with the illuſtrious

trious man whoſe life and diſcoveries confer upon the preſent publication its chief intereſt.

Joſeph Black was ſprung from a Scotiſh family, tranſplanted firſt to Ireland, and then to France, the country which gave him birth. He ſpent, in Bourdeaux and its vicinity, thoſe years of infancy devoted by the conſtitution of human nature to imbecility, thraldom and ignorance, and extolled, by the general conſent of mankind, as the ſeaſon of genuine happineſs. The biographer has wiſely paſſed over the hiſtory of this bliſsful period, and preferred dwelling upon thoſe ſcenes which diſplay the ripened powers of the mind. After an account of the intimacy which ſubſiſted between the amiable parents of the philoſopher and the celebrated preſident Monteſquieu, the narrative is purſued from the period of Dr Black's removal to Belfaſt, in the twelfth year of his age. He there received the rudiments of his literary education, and finiſhed it at the Univerſity of Glaſgow, the ſcene of his future diſcoveries. His attention appears to have been divided between the ſcience which his natural bias led him peculiarly to cultivate, and thoſe more general objects of ſpeculation which enlarge the underſtanding, while they improve the taſte. Although his application to theſe delightful purſuits was never very ardent, it was ſteady and vigorous. If he did not, like Paſcal, Newton, M'Laurin, and various writers on lighter ſubjects, aſtoniſh the world by a premature diſplay of talents, his want of thoſe ſtronger paſſions, which lead to an early developement of genius, inſured him the poſſeſſion of a calm and immoveable judgement, a patient capacity of obſervation, and a modeſt diſtruſt of theory, —the moſt eſſential characteriſtics of the inductive philoſopher.

In the courſe of his ſtudies, he does not appear to have entered deeply into the abſtract ſciences, either of mathematical or metaphyſical truth. His taſte led him rather to the contemplation of real and external objects; and he ſoon employed as much of his talents as he ever devoted to ſevere ſtudy, in the inveſtigations of experimental philoſophy. The phyſical diſcoveries of Sir Iſaac Newton attracted his chief admiration; and, upon the unequalled models of inductive diſquiſition which the treatiſe of Light contains, his ſcientific habits were happily formed. After he had, by his own diſcoveries, laid the foundation of a revolution in ſcience, almoſt equal to the changes which his great maſter had effected, we find him ſteadily perſevering in the ſame ſtrict and chaſtened ſyſtem of inductive logic, and freely acknowledging the ſources of his ſkill.

'My acquaintance with him (ſays Mr Robiſon) began at Glaſgow in 1758, I being then a ſtudent in that Univerſity; and it began in a way which marked the diſtinguiſhed amiableneſs of his diſpoſition and behaviour.

haviour. It was at the house of one of the professors, to whom I was telling the great entertainment I had received from the lectures of Dr Robert Dick, Professor of Natural Philosophy, and how much I admired him as a lecturer. Dr Black joined in the commendation; and then, addressing himself to me, questioned me a good deal about natural philosophy, so as to perceive what were the peculiar objects of my attention. His advices relative to my favourite study were so impressive, and given in a manner so unaffectedly serious and kind, that they are still as fresh in my mind as if of yesterday's date. I was a stranger to him, and not even his pupil; and he was prompted to take that pains with me, solely by the way in which he heard me speaking of the lectures of one whom he loved and esteemed. Gently and gracefully checking my disposition to form theories, he warned me to suspect all theories whatever, pressed on me the necessity of improving in mathematical knowledge, and gave me Newton's Optics to read, advising me to make that book the model of all my studies, and to reject, even without examination, every hypothetical explanation, as a mere waste of time and ingenuity.' Preface, p. vii.

The profession of medicine, which Dr Black chose from its consonance with the tenour of his favourite studies, was extremely unsuitable to his delicate constitution, and the amiably solicitous temper of his mind. The duties of his station as a physician, and of his three successive professorships, were, unfortunately for science, (we may add, for his own fame), matters of such anxious care, as to distract much of his attention from the path of original investigation, which he had entered with the most splendid prospects of success. The doctrine of latent heat appears to have been early familiar to his thoughts. In the oldest parcels of his notes, Mr Robison found queries relative to this point; and Dr Black himself asserts, (vol. I. p. 156.), that he can scarcely remember the time when he had not some idea of the disagreement of the facts with the common doctrines of heat. The extracts from the memorandum-books given in these volumes, sufficiently prove, that, while a student, his ideas had been somewhat matured upon the subject. Before the year 1763, his whole experiments and inquiries on the absorption of heat, were brought to a conclusion; and his inaugural dissertation, when he received a degree in 1754, contained an account of his other grand discovery—the nature of the alkaline earths, and the properties of fixed air. He removed from Glasgow to Edinburgh in 1766, and died in 1799. How great a part, then, of this most valuable life was spent in the mere exercise of professional duties! At an age when the bulk of philosophers are only beginning to strike out new lights, Black had closed his short career of brilliant discovery; entered upon the common task of a chemical teacher; limited his ambition to the simple explication of a science which he

he might have created anew; and left to his more ardent, or more fortunate ſucceſſors, the glories of rearing a ſyſtem, of which he had laid the firm foundations, and furniſhed the chief materials. We ſhall afterwards ſee, that they are charged with refuſing to engrave his name upon the ſtructure, and to beſtow his portion of honour on him whoſe genius and ill fate had left them ſo ample a ſhare.

In contemplating the intellectual character of this eminent perſon, we cannot fail to be delighted with the obſervation of that unity which ſeems peculiar to minds of the firſt order. An original genius is often to be found in all the departments of human excellence. But it is rarely, indeed, that we can diſcover one whoſe features are at once diſtinctly marked, and nicely blended; each different from the ordinary caſt, and all animated by the ſame ſpirit. The moſt aſtoniſhing intellect that has ever been permitted to enlighten mankind, poſſeſſed this rare harmony in the very higheſt degree. Thoſe qualities which diſtinguiſhed the father of inductive ſcience from every other philoſopher, were equally conſpicuous in each of his various exertions; and the preeminent dignity of his powers was ſuſtained through all the thouſand operations by which he enlarged the graſp of the human mind. It is in vain that we ſearch every corner of the Newtonian writings, for ſome trifling proof that their author was, like ourſelves, liable to the common intellectual failings of the ſpecies. We are conſoled by no glimpſe of wavering ſteps, even on the moſt delicate ground; or haſty advances, where the footing is ſureſt, and the prize moſt attractive; or careleſs examination, where the intermediate objects are moſt trivial; or relaxation, when the greateſt obſtacles have been ſurmounted; or intemperate triumph, when the moſt dazzling proſpects are diſplayed. Each height is reached by the ſafeſt and the ſhorteſt path, with the ſmalleſt buſtle; and the attainment is only valued as leading to ſome loftier eminence. Each poſition is alike marked by its diſtance from the ordinary level; by the nature of the works which ſecure it, and of the country which it commands. The chief characteriſtic of Newton, is the degree of ſuperiority in which he towers above every other natural philoſopher, ſo as to form a claſs by himſelf. But the kind of his excellence is alſo remarkable and uniform. The diſtance and diſſimilarity of the objects which his diſcoveries enable us to compare, is not more aſtoniſhing, than the eaſe and ſimplicity of the means of compariſon. The pleaſure of contemplation, which forms the primary object of all abſtract ſcience, and which the view of thoſe compariſons invariably beſtows, is equalled by the practical importance of the conſequences to which they may be applied. The enunciation of the propoſition is not

more unexpected, than the demonſtration is flowing, and the corollaries uſeful. All thoſe various inveſtigations, too, are the eaſy and natural work of one great, ſimple mind, verſatile in the direction of its efforts, but uniform in its mode of operation; not the attempts of an ordinary intellect, ſtraining at univerſality by ambitious mimicry of different talents.

In theſe particulars, we cannot avoid obſerving a ſtriking analogy between the philoſophical genius of Black and that of Newton. None of this illuſtrious man's followers has ſo correctly ſeized the true ſpirit of inductive reaſoning by which he was guided, or combined ſo happily the utmoſt ſimplicity of means with the accompliſhment of the moſt difficult and important ends. In all Dr Black's analytical inquiries, we perceive how much belongs to the mind of the obſerver; how little is left to the trick and dexterity of the operator. By placing nature in new combinations of circumſtances, he extorts from her (to uſe the language of Lord Bacon) ſome of her ſublimeſt ſecrets: But theſe combinations are always ſimple and concluſive. He knows, too, that the ordinary combinations which we witneſs every hour, require only patient obſervation, to furniſh the unbiaſſed reaſoner with ample opportunities of generalization. Accordingly, in no ſcientific inquiries, ſince the date of the Principia and Optics, do we find ſo great a proportion of pure ratiocination, founded upon the deſcription of common facts, but leading to the moſt unexpected and important reſults, as in the two grand ſyſtems of Black. This mode of inveſtigating the laws of nature has various advantages of the higheſt conſequence. It diminiſhes incalculably the chances of miſtake, by precluding the uſe of complicated apparatus. It brings home to every one the evidence of the diſcoveries, and expoſes the demonſtration of each propoſition to the moſt ſevere and univerſal ſcrutiny. It opens, to all who can obſerve and reaſon, the field of important inquiry, and raiſes the mind to the moſt general views of the conſtitution of the world.

The ſame happy turn of mind which placed the ſcientific inveſtigations of Dr Black ſo near the greateſt diſcoveries that have ever been made by the ſpecies, was perceptible alſo in the elegance and ingenuity which it mingled with all his perſonal habits.

'I have already obſerved,' ſays Mr Robiſon, 'that when I was firſt acquainted with Dr Black, his aſpect was comely and intereſting. As he advanced in years, his countenance continued to preſerve that pleaſing expreſſion of inward ſatisfaction, which, by giving eaſe to the beholder, never fails to pleaſe. His manner was perfectly eaſy, and unaffected, and graceful. He was of moſt eaſy approach, affable, and readily entered into converſation, whether ſerious or trivial. His mind being

being abundantly furnished with matter, his conversation was at all times pertinent and agreeable: for Dr Black's acquirements were not merely those of a man of science. He was a stranger to none of the elegant accomplishments of life. He therefore easily fell into any topic of conversation, and supported his part in it respectably. He had a fine, or accurate musical ear, and a voice which would obey it in the most perfect manner; for he sung, and performed on the flute, with great taste and feeling; and could sing a plain air at sight, which many instrumental performers cannot do. But this was science. Dr Black was a very intelligent judge of musical composition; and I never heard any person express so intelligibly the characteristic differences of some of the national musics of Europe. I speak of Dr Black as I knew him at Glasgow: After his coming to Edinburgh, he gave up most of those amusements. Without having studied drawing, he had acquired a considerable power of expression with his pencil, both in figures and in landscape. He was peculiarly happy in expressing the passions; and seemed, in this respect, to have the talent of a history painter. He had not had any opportunities of becoming a connoisseur; but his opinion of a piece of painting, or sculpture, was respected by good judges. Figure, indeed of every kind, attracted his attention;—in architecture, furniture, ornament of every sort, it was never a matter of indifference. Even a retort, or a crucible, was to his eye an example of beauty or deformity. His memorandum books are full of studies (may I call them) of this sort; and there is one drawing of an iron furnace, fitted up with rough unhewn timber, that is finished with great beauty, and would not disgrace the hand of a Woollet. Naturally, therefore, the young ladies were proud of Dr Black's approbation of their taste in matters of ornament. These are not indifferent things; they are features of an elegant mind, and they account for some part of that satisfaction and pleasure which persons of all different habits and pursuits felt in Dr Black's company and conversation.

'I think that I could frequently discover what was the circumstance of form, &c. in which Dr Black perceived or sought for beauty,—it was some suitableness or propriety; and he has often pointed it out to me, in things where I never should have looked for it. Yet I saw that he was ingeniously in the right. I may almost say that the love of propriety was the leading sentiment of Dr Black's mind. This was the first standard to which he appealed in all his judgements; and I believe he endeavoured to make it the directing principle of his conduct. Happy is the man whose moderation of pursuits leaves this sentiment in possession of much authority. Seldom are our judgements greatly wrong on this question; but we too seldom listen to them.' Preface, p. lxvi. lxvii.

The following extract describes Dr Black's merits as a Lecturer, with a truth and precision which every one will immediately feel who has had the happiness of receiving instructions from that eminent teacher. The sustained elegance and propriety which

we have already taken notice of, as characteriſtic both of his original inquiries, and of his demeanour in the ordinary affairs of life, was equally conſpicuous in this favourite line of exertion.

'Dr Black now formed the firm reſolution of directing his whole ſtudy to the improvement of his ſcholars in the *elementary* knowledge of chemiſtry. He ſaw two many of them with a very ſcanty ſtock of previous learning. He had many from the workſhop of the manufacturer, who had none at all; and he ſaw that the number of ſuch hearers muſt increaſe with the increaſing activity and proſperity of the country: And theſe appeared to him as by no means the leaſt important part of his auditory. To engage the attention of ſuch pupils, and to be perfectly underſtood by the moſt illiterate, was therefore conſidered by Dr Black as his moſt ſacred duty. Plain doctrines, therefore, taught in the plaineſt manner, muſt employ his chief ſtudy. That no help may be wanting, all muſt be illuſtrated by ſuitable experiments, by the exhibition of ſpecimens, and the management of chemical proceſſes. Nice and abſtruſe philoſophical opinions would not intereſt ſuch hearers; and *any* doctrines, inculcated in a refined manner, and referring to elaborate diſquiſitions of others, would not be underſtood by the major part of an audience of young perſons, as yet only beginning their ſtudies.

'To this reſolution Dr Black rigidly adhered, endeavouring every year to make his courſes more plain and familiar, and illuſtrating them by a greater variety of examples in the way of experiment. No man could perform theſe more neatly and ſucceſsfully. They were always ingeniouſly and judiciouſly contrived, clearly eſtabliſhing the point in view, and never more than ſufficed for this purpoſe. While he ſcorned the quackery of a ſhowman, the ſimplicity, neatneſs, and elegance, with which they were performed, were truly admirable. Indeed, the *ſimplex munditiis* ſtamped every thing that he did. I think it was the unperceived operation of this impreſſion that made Dr Black's lectures ſuch a treat to all his ſcholars. They were not only inſtructed, but (they knew not how) delighted; and without any effort to pleaſe, but ſolely by the natural emanation of a gentle and elegant mind, cooperating, indeed, with a moſt perſpicuous exhibition of his ſentiments, Dr Black became a favourite lecturer; and many were induced, by the report of his ſtudents, to attend his courſes, without having any particular reliſh for chemical knowledge, but merely in order to be pleaſed. This, however, contributed greatly to the extending the knowledge of chemiſtry; and it became a faſhionable part of the accompliſhment of a gentleman.' Preface, p. l. li.

One prominent feature in Dr Black's character, Mr Robiſon does not appear to have delineated with ſufficient ſtrength: we mean the want of paſſion. There can be no doubt that this defect, however much it may have contributed to the eaſe and calmneſs of his enjoyments, deprived his mind of that energy by which alone the greateſt things are performed in the purſuits either

either of ſpeculation or of active life. When we conſider how ſhort a period of time his original inquiries occupied, how careleſsly he left his diſcoveries to be appropriated by others, how little progreſs he made in following out thoſe ſublime ideas, by the help of which his followers have overturned and created ſyſtems; nay, how long an interval he frequently ſuffered to elapſe between the conception and execution of ſome experiment which was to decide the truth of a favourite theory; we muſt be convinced that he felt little of the inſpiration ſo neceſſary to the full ſucceſs of thoſe happy few who poſſeſs all the powers of philoſophical inveſtigation. This want of paſſion, or of ardour and energy, or, to give it the right name, this indolence, was conſpicuous in all the particulars of Dr Black's conduct. The diſcovery which he firſt made, was the laſt of being completed. He never could be induced to publiſh any account of it to the world, notwithſtanding the conſtant attempts of his rivals to deprive him of the claim. He was at all times averſe to publication, and faſtidious, to an uncommon degree, in his judgements of his own compoſitions. When the *experimentum crucis* of his doctrine of latent heat occurred to him, he delayed making it for many months, becauſe there happened to be no icehouſe in the town where he lived. In extending this doctrine to the caſe of aëriform fluidity, he remained for years ſatisfied with analogies and rough ſketches of experiments, which he could at any time have performed with eaſe; and however little doubt he had reaſon to entertain of the reſult, he evinced none of that anxiety, which is ſo natural to a diſcoverer even on the leaſt important points of his theory. After aſcertaining the exiſtence of fixed air, and determining ſome of its qualities, he delayed inveſtigating its other properties, and purſuing the moſt obvious experiments on analogous bodies; until the field was occupied by others, who, with ſcarcely a ſpark of his truly philoſophical genius, were enabled, by their ſuperior activity, to make the moſt valuable diſcoveries. Nor can we avoid remarking how cloſely his propriety and correctneſs of character was connected with this freedom from paſſion, which always left his mind, as it were, diſengaged, unabſorbed by any predominant enthuſiaſm, and at leiſure to regard the moſt trivial concerns. He was never, like Newton or Smith, known to be abſent in ſociety; or thoughtleſs and playful in his hours of relaxation, like Hutton and Hume.

"As Dr Black," (we quote the words of his near relation Dr Ferguſon *) "had never any thing for oſtentation, he was, at all times, preciſely

* Mr Robiſon has incorporated with the narrative contained in his Preface, ſeveral extracts from a biographical ſketch of Dr Black, drawn up by this eminent writer.

precisely what the occasion required, and no more. Much as he was engaged in the details of his public station, and chemical exhibitions, his chambers were never seen lumbered with books and papers, or specimens of mineralogy, &c. or the apparatus of experiments. Nor did any one see Dr Black hurried at one time to recover matter which had been improperly neglected on a former occasion. Every thing being done in its proper season and place, he ever seemed to have leisure in store; and he was ready to receive his friend or aquaintance, and to take his part with cheerfulness in any conversation that occurred. And let me remark, that no one ever with more ease to himself refrained from professional discussions of any sort, or conversation in which he was acknowledged superior,—or with less self-denial, in mixed company, left the subject of conversation to be chosen by others." Preface, p. lxviii.

His attention was awake, even to the mere trifles of life. His domestic affairs were regulated with an attention to minute circumstances, rarely to be observed in the household of a philosopher; and the fortune which his admirable œconomy enabled him to amass (notwithstanding various diminutions that his income suffered from his liberal and friendly disposition), was accurately bequeathed to his near relations, in shares proportioned to the degree which each individual possessed of his esteem. He was often heard to express anxiety with respect to the mode of his death, and to wish for a quiet departure from this world, without the evils of a long continued sick-bed. It is singular how characteristic of the man, and how suitable to such feelings, this last scene actually proved.

"On the 26th November 1799, and in the seventy-first year of his age, he expired, without any convulsion, shock or stupor, to announce or retard the approach of death. Being at table, with his usual fare, some bread, a few prunes, and a measured quantity of milk, diluted with water, and having the cup in his hand when the last stroke of his pulse was to be given, he had set it down on his knees, which were joined together, and kept it steady with his hand, in the manner of a person perfectly at ease; and in this attitude expired, without spilling a drop, and without a writhe in his countenance; as if an experiment had been required to shew to his friends the facility with which he departed." * His servant opened the door to tell him that some one had left his name; but, getting no answer, stepped about half way towards him, and seeing him sitting in that easy posture, supporting his bason of milk with one hand, he thought that he had dropped asleep, which he had sometimes seen happen after his meals. He went back, and shut the door; but before he got down stairs, some anxiety, which he could not account for, made him return and look again at his master. Even then, he was satisfied, after coming pretty near him, and turned to

* The first part of this extract is taken from the Memoir of Dr Ferguson,

to go away; but again returned, and coming quite-close to him, he found him without life.' Preface, lxxiv. lxxv.

Such was the man, of whose lectures the volumes now before us contain a faithful transcript. They are, *therefore*, a most valuable acquisition, although we should allow them only the merit of a literary curiosity, a relique of the greatest inductive philosopher that has appeared since the days of Sir Isaac Newton, and, unfortunately, one of the very few monuments which his modesty and his indolence permitted him to leave. But this publication is highly important in another point of view; it contains the only history which we have of the discovery of latent heat, and a much more copious account of the discovery of fixed air than that which the author published during his life.

The former of these discoveries is, in our opinion, the most important in its consequences, and the most signal, with regard to difficulty, of any that has been made since the application of gravity to explain the laws of planetary motion. It differs from all the others with which we are acquainted in this material respect, that it is separated, by a vast interval, from the previous steps of our knowledge. By how many insensible gradations did we arrive at the doctrine of the composition of water? First, the inflammation of certain vapours was observed; then, the discovery of fixed air having taught philosophers to examine the properties of certain elastic fluids, one of these was found to differ from the rest in being inflammable. It was afterwards remarked, that this air, when slowly burnt, produced moisture upon a cold body held over the flame: fixed air was, by some, thought to be produced in the same process; and reasoners inferred from hence, that the water had been contained in the inflammable air. But others varied the experiment, and burned the air in close vessels; moisture was still formed, and accurate observation showed that no new aëriform product resulted from the combustion. A new species of air having been discovered, much better calculated than common atmospherical air to support flame, the combustion of inflammable air was tried with this new species, and it was found to be extremely rapid. The combustion being performed in close vessels, the inaccuracy of the experiment gave rise to various errors; but water was always found to be produced: and some ingenious men, particularly Mr Watt, reasoning from all these facts, concluded that this fluid is a compound of the two airs, deprived, by their union, of a considerable portion of their latent heat, the quantity (viz.) which is necessary for maintaining the elastic aëriform state. This idea was verified by the accurate experiment of Mr Cavendish, in which the quantity of water formed was compared with the quantities of the airs burnt; and the French chemists added new proofs of the

the propoſition by the analytical proceſs. This chain of inveſtigation is evidently ſo long, and of ſuch ſlow formation, that we cannot, with any degree of correctneſs, appreciate the comparative merits of thoſe who ſeverally extended it; nor point out the particular link upon which the grand diſcovery hangs. And the ſame diſtribution of praiſe is ſtrictly proper in almoſt all the other inſtances of ſucceſsful phyſical reſearch. Even the compoſition of light was only unfolded by degrees, and appears to have been wonderfully nearly diſcovered by Grimaldi and others, with whoſe works Newton muſt have been acquainted. There are numerous proofs of ſuch anticipations contained in the writings of Hook and Mayow, as our chemical readers well know. Mr Robiſon has, in his notes to theſe lectures, pointed out ſeveral new and remarkable inſtances, more particularly from the works of the former. * The ſame obſervations may be extended to the moſt important diſcoveries in abſtract ſcience. The method of fluxions itſelf may be traced through a long ſucceſſion of leſs elegant and leſs general inventions for finding quadratures and ſubtangents.

But two great phyſical diſcoveries ſeem to have followed this *law of continuity*, in ſo ſlight a degree, that they may almoſt be allowed to form a caſe of exceptions to its operation. Theſe are the univerſality of gravitation, and the combination of heat. As, before the time of Sir Iſaac Newton, the influence of weight was only known by the falling of heavy bodies, all ideas of the attraction of gravitation were connected with this particular line of its operation: the only language in which men had ever learnt to expreſs themſelves upon the ſubject, was borrowed immediately from the particular caſe of vertical deſcent, and confined to the very limited ſphere of its occurrence. In like manner, before the time of Dr Black, all the knowledge we had of the matter, or the motion of heat, was intimately connected with the idea of a ſubſtance, or a ſtate, by which the ſenſe of touch is affected in a ſpecific manner, and the dimenſions of bodies ſenſibly increaſed. The phlogiſton of Stahl was evidently no inference from induction, even as modified and altered by his followers; neither was it the hypotheſis of any peculiar qualities in the matter of heat: It was the aſſumption of a ſubſtance, different from every other with which we are acquainted, endued with qualities repugnant to

* Note 13. Vol. I. contains a very intereſting account of Hook's theory of combuſtion. Its ſimilarity to the antiphlogiſtic doctrine is truly ſingular; and Mr Robiſon is, ſo far as we know, the firſt writer who has remarked it. In p. 537, he ſays that he only obſerved it in 1798: but there muſt be ſome miſtake in this; for he publiſhed a notice of it in his valuable article *Pneumatics*, §. 371, Encyclopædia Britannica, which appeared in the year 1795.

to the univerſal properties of matter, and capable of producing every effect which the inventors might wiſh to explain. Phlogiſton was indeed denominated the matter of heat and light; but it might as well have been called the reguline principle; and then, inſtead of ſaying that the eſcape of the matter of heat and light cauſes the calcination of metals, the followers of Stahl would have ſaid, that the eſcape of the reguline principle cauſes the combuſtion of inflammable bodies. It is evident, that no ſpecific effect, no ſubordination to the laws of chemical affinity, was ever aſcribed to the ſubſtance which affects our ſenſe with the feeling of heat, until Dr Black, from the moſt faithful and cautious examination of obvious facts, found, that this ſubſtance is capable of uniting with bodies, ſo as not to affect our ſenſes with the peculiar feeling of heat, and yet to produce upon thoſe bodies the moſt important changes—in the ſame manner that an acid, when combined with an alkali, ceaſes to taſte ſour, while it deſtroys the acridity of the alkali, and forms a third body, poſſeſſing the noxious qualities of neither. This phyſical law, diſcovered by the ſtricteſt induction, is applicable to the explanation of an infinite number of phænomena: its operations actually occur in almoſt every chemical experiment, and its influence is perceived in all the great proceſſes of nature. For a moſt intereſting detail of the ſteps by which Dr Black was led to the knowledge of it, we refer our readers to the firſt volume of theſe lectures. This narrative appears to us a model of philoſophical writing, as well as of induction; making allowance for the ſtyle of converſation, which is obviouſly adopted as moſt ſuitable for a public elementary lecture.

The other great diſcovery of Dr Black (the nature of the alkaline earths, and of fixed air) was ſcarcely leſs important in its conſequences to chemical ſcience, than the one which we have been contemplating. The account of it contained in theſe volumes, differs conſiderably from that which the author himſelf publiſhed. It dwells more minutely upon the ſteps of the inveſtigation, and (with the exception of a few remarks upon borax, apparently copied from the treatiſe on magneſia alba and quicklime), it is compoſed in a ſtyle much leſs careful and finiſhed than that which the Doctor ſeems to have employed when he wrote for publication.

Our readers will derive ſome entertainment from the compariſon; and we ſhall here give, as a ſpecimen of the manner which diſtinguiſhes the whole of theſe lectures, the following paſſage from the hiſtory of the diſcovery of fixed air. It unites, with great ſimplicity of diction, an exemplification of Dr Black's inimitable ſimplicity and ingenuity in the contrivance of experiments.

'In

'In the ſame year in which my firſt account of theſe experiments was publiſhed, namely 1757, I had diſcovered, that this particular kind of air, attracted by alkaline ſubſtances, is deadly to all animals that breathe it by the mouth and noſtrils together; but that if the noſtrils were kept ſhut, I was led to think that it might be breathed with ſafety. I found, for example, that when ſparrows died in it in ten or eleven ſeconds, they would live in it for three or four minutes when the noſtrils were ſhut by melted ſuet. And I convinced myſelf, that the change produced on wholeſome air by breathing it, conſiſted chiefly, if not ſolely, in the converſion of part of it into fixed air. For I found, that by blowing through a pipe into lime-water, or a ſolution of cauſtic alkali, the lime was precipitated, and the alkali was rendered mild. I was partly led to theſe experiments by ſome obſervations of Dr Hales, in which he ſays, that breathing through diaphragms of cloth dipped in alkaline ſolution, made the air laſt longer for the purpoſes of life *.

'In the ſame year, I found that fixed air is the chief part of the elaſtic matter which is formed in liquids in the vinous fermentation. Van Helmont had indeed ſaid this, and it was to this that he firſt gave the name *gas ſilveſtre*. It could not long be unknown to thoſe occupied in brewing or making wines. But it was at random that he ſaid it was the ſame with that of the Grotto del Cane in Italy (but he ſuppoſed the identity, becauſe both are deadly); for he had examined neither of them chemically, nor did he know that it was the air diſengaged in the effervescence of alkaline ſubſtances with acids. I convinced myſelf of the fact, by going to a brew-houſe with two phials, one filled with diſtilled water, and the other with lime-water. I emptied the firſt into a vat of wort fermenting briſkly, holding the mouth of the phial cloſe to the ſurface of the wort. I then poured ſome of the lime-water into it, ſhut it with my finger, and ſhook it. The lime-water became turbid immediately.

'Van Helmont ſays, that the *dunſte*, or deadly vapour of burning charcoal, is the ſame gas ſilveſtre; but this was alſo a random conjecture. He does not even ſay that it extinguiſhes flame; yet this was known to the chemiſts of his day. I had now the certain means of deciding the queſtion, ſince, if the ſame, it muſt be fixed air. I made ſeveral indiſtinct experiments, as ſoon as the conjecture occurred to my thoughts; but they were with little contrivance or accuracy. In the evening of the ſame day that I diſcovered that it was fixed air that eſcaped from fermenting liquors, I made an experiment which ſatisfied me. Unfixing the nozzle of a pair of chamber bellows, I put a bit of charcoal, juſt red hot, into the wide end of it, and then quickly putting it into its place again, I plunged the pipe to the bottom of a phial,

* In the winter 1764-5, Dr Black rendered a conſiderable quantity of cauſtic foſſil alkali mild and cryſtaline, by cauſing it to filtre ſlowly by rags, in an apparatus which was placed above one of the ſpiracles in the ceiling of a church, in which a congregation of more than 1500 perſons had coptinued near ten hours.—*Editor.*

phial, and forced the air very ſlowly through the charcoal, ſo as to maintain its combuſtion, but not produce a heat too ſuddenly for the phial to bear. When I judged that the air of the phial was completely vitiated, I poured lime-water into it, and had the pleaſure of ſeeing it become milky in a moment.' Vol. II. p. 87. 88.

We cannot eaſily imagine a more intereſting narrative; it reminds us of Montucla's admirable and animating account of the Torricellian experiment, with this eſſential difference, that here the narrator was himſelf the performer of the action.

The following paſſage, from the concluding diſcourſe on heat, may ſerve as an example of Dr Black's powers of deſcription; and we cannot help regretting, that theſe volumes do not contain alſo the lecture in which he was wont (unneceſſarily, indeed, but with great force of invective) to expoſe the manifold abſurdities of Meyer's *acidum pingue*.

'It is plain, that not only all animal and vegetable life, but that the whole face and appearance of nature, the very form and powers of the elements themſelves, depend on this limited action of heat. There are none of the elementary bodies with which we are better acquainted than water. Let us attend a little to the powers and qualities by which it acts its part in this ſyſtem of beings. We all admire its pure tranſparency in a ſpring; the level and poliſhed ſurface with which it reflects objects that are on the banks of a lake; the mobility with which it runs along the channel of a brook, and the inceſſant motion of its waves in a ſtormy ſea. But, when viewed with a philoſophical eye, it appears much more an object of admiration. The ſame water which, under its uſual form, is ſuch a principal beauty in the ſcene of nature, is employed in her moſt extenſive operations, and is neceſſary to the formation of all her productions. It penetrates the interior parts of the earth, and appears to aſſiſt in the production of various minerals, ſtones, and earths, found there, by bringing their different ingredients together, and applying them to one another properly, that they may concrete. We know it ariſes in vapours from the ſurface of the ocean, to form the clouds, and to deſcend again in rain upon the dry land, and give origin to ſprings, rivers, and lakes; or, upon proper occaſions, to form deep ſnow, which protects the ground and vegetables from the intenſe and mortal cold to which ſome parts of the world are expoſed; and, after it has performed this uſeful office, it readily yields to the heat of ſummer, and returns to a ſtate in which it ſerves the ſame purpoſes as rain. By its fluidity and tenuity, it penetrates the ſoil, and the ſeeds of plants which that ſoil contains. Theſe it cauſes to ſwell and germinate into plants, which depend on water for ſupport. It paſſes with freedom and eaſe through all their minuteſt tubes and veſſels, and carries with it materials neceſſary for nouriſhment and growth, or changes its appearance ſo as to become part of the plant. There is no plant or vegetable ſubſtance, that does not contain in its compoſition a large quantity of water, eaſily ſeparable from it. The hardeſt woods contain

contain a great deal. The ſofter and more ſucculent parts of vegetables are almoſt totally compoſed of it. Even the oils and reſinous ſubſtances can be reſolved in part into water. It is plainly as neceſſary to the animals, and is found to be as copious an ingredient in the compoſition of their bodies, and of all the different parts of them.

'These are the numerous and extenſive uſes of this beautiful element. But, in this ſucceſſion of forms and operations which it undergoes, you will perceive that it is ſet in motion, and adapted to theſe ends, by the nice adjuſtment and gentle viciſſitudes of heat and cold, which attend the returns of day and night, and ſummer and winter; and that even the *form*, under which it and the other elements play their parts, depends on the limited action of heat. Were our heat to be diminiſhed, and to continue diminiſhed, to a degree not very far below the ordinary temperature, the water would loſe its fluidity, and aſſume the form of a ſolid hard body, totally unfit for the numerous purpoſes which it ſerves at preſent. And, if the diminution of heat were to go ſtill farther, the air itſelf would loſe its elaſticity, and would be frozen to a ſolid uſeleſs matter like the water; and thus all nature would become a lifeleſs, ſilent, and diſmal ruin. Such being the important part allotted to water, in the magnificent ſeries of natural operations, in conſequence of the qualities communicated to it by heat, all its properties become intereſting objects of contemplation to a ſenſible heart. That peculiarity, by which the expanſion and contraction of water by heat is diſtinguiſhed from the ſame effect on other ſubſtances, I mean its irregularity between 32° and 40° of Fahrenheit, naturally attracts attention. Even this ſeemingly trifling diſtinction has been ſhown by Count Rumford to have a mighty effect in rendering our habitation more comfortable.

'On the other hand, were the heat which at preſent cheriſhes and enlivens this globe, allowed to increaſe beyond the bounds at preſent preſcribed to it; beſide the deſtruction of all animal and vegetable life, which would be the immediate and inevitable conſequence, the water would loſe its preſent form, and aſſume that of an elaſtic vapour like air; the ſolid parts of the globe would be melted and confounded together, or mixed with the air and water in ſmoke and vapour; and nature would return to the original chaos.' Vol. I. p. 245–247.

Of the converſation ſtyle, in which theſe lectures are for the moſt part written, we may remark, that although it uſually poſſeſſes the advantages of plainneſs and fluency, yet, being adapted to the tones of the voice, it is very apt, when read over by a third perſon, to be deficient in perſpicuity; and being leſs premeditated, it is ſcarcely ever equal in preciſion to a good written ſtyle. Its want of elegance is a defect of much leſs conſequence; but all theſe circumſtances muſt conſpire to impair the effect of this work, unleſs the occaſion of its compoſition be kept in view.

As a ſyſtem of chemical inſtruction, the lectures of Dr Black poſſeſs very peculiar merits. Although they are, in many important reſpects, of neceſſity far behind the more recent ſyſtematical

tical works upon this subject, they may fairly be admitted to contain the most accessible store of information which persons ignorant of the science can at present command. They are delivered, as much as possible, in the analytical mode. They take for granted no previous acquaintance with science in the learner; and they require, less than any work which we know, the assistance of apparatus. Dr Black's manner of introducing the newly discovered substances, has, indeed, no great appearance of systematic arrangement; but it should be remembered, that an elementary treatise has other objects in view, than the attainment of that fair outside which forms the chief attraction of philosophical systems. After a person, wholly ignorant of science, has studied chemistry in these volumes, he may have occasion for some such work as Lavoisier or Fourcroy, in order to digest and arrange the knowledge he has picked up. But, we believe, every one in the least conversant with the matter, will admit the impracticability of initiating an ignorant person into the science, merely by the assistance of those elegant and curiously systematic authors. It is true, we have sometimes felt inclined, in reading this work, to suspect Dr Black of too great contempt for the synthetic form of instruction. Upon this important point, however, his own arguments, as he delivered them in conversation with Dr Hutton and Mr Robison, have been preserved; and we very willingly transcribe them, as containing a full and plain statement of the principles on which the whole course was constructed. Mr Robison had expressed a very favourable opinion of Lavoisier's sketch of a scientific arrangement, and had alluded to the happy train of synthetic deduction which it enabled that philosopher to carry through the whole chemical history of bodies—

"This," said Dr Black, "is the very thing I dislike it for. Chemistry is not yet a science. We are very far from the knowledge of first principles. We should avoid every thing that has the pretensions of a full system. The whole of chemical science should, as yet, be analytical, like Newton's Optics; and we should obtain the connecting principle, in the form of a general law, at the very end of our induction, as the reward of our labour. You blamed, and, in my opinion, justly, De La Grange's *Mechanique Analytique*, for being the very opposite to a real analytical process;—for adopting as the fundamental proposition, as a first principle, a theorem which in fact is nothing more than a sagacious observation of an universal fact, discoverable indeed in every mechanical phenomenon; but still not a principle, but the mathematical and not the physical result of all our inductions. This is not a fundamental theorem, fit for instructing a novice in the science, but for adepts alone. The case is the same in chemistry.

"But this is not the greatest fault in the arrangement which sets out from the constitution of the atmosphere. In order to get the proofs on which the validity of this first principle must entirely rest, we must

fall to work with a number of complex, very complex ſubſtances, of which we know nothing, and whoſe modes of action are among the moſt myſterious things in chemiſtry; and the concluſions which we muſt draw, require a ſteadineſs and contention of thought which very few poſſeſs,—which a beginner in philoſophical inveſtigation cannot poſſibly poſſeſs. It is by no means fair to appeal to a Lavoiſier, a Cavendiſh, or a Berthollet, or other great chemiſts, for the clearneſs of the evidence. They are not the proper judges. Lay it before a ſenſible metallurgiſt, ignorant of chemiſtry. Aſk this man whether he ſees the incontrovertible force of the proof. When I take the matter in this light, I affirm that, even to a philoſopher, the proofs of the fundamental propoſitions which have been acquieſced in by the authors of this arrangement, are very ſcanty, very ſlight, and very refined. This is a fault in a ſyſtem publiſhed for the inſtruction of the ignorant; and, in the preſent day, it is a very great fault. There is juſt now a rage for ſyſtem,—for complete ſyſtems. We have got ſuch a high conceit of our knowledge, that we cannot be pleaſed with a ſyſtem which acknowledges any imperfection: It muſt not leave one open link: It muſt not leave any thing unexplained. And I ſee it always happen, that if the application of a ſyſtem to the explanation of phenomena be very comprehenſive, leaving no blanks, and if the explanation have ſome feaſibility, this catches the fancy,—it dazzles the underſtanding. Nay, we think it impoſſible that a principle that is falſe can tally with ſo many phenomena. This ſeeming coincidence is conſidered as a proof of its validity; and we are no longer ſolicitous about the *direct* proofs adduced in the beginning. I have often heard ſuch arguments for what I knew to be great nonſenſe. This kind of authority accruing to a theory from its ſpecious and extenſive application to phenomena, is always bad; and, with mere beginners in philoſophy, it is doing them an irreparable hurt. It nouriſhes that itch for theory; and it makes them unſolicitous about the firſt foundations of it:—thus it forms in their minds the worſt of all philoſophical habits.

'I am reſolved to go on in a very different way. I ſubſcribe to almoſt all Mr Lavoiſier's doctrines; and I will teach them all: And I affirm that I ſhall teach them with an impreſſion of their truth which his method can never make. My ſtudents ſhall get all theſe doctrines piecemeal;—every one of them by ſteps which ſhall be quite eaſy and confident, becauſe they ſhall be acquainted with every ſubſtance before I employ its phenomena as proofs. Each of Mr Lavoiſier's doctrines ſhall ariſe in courſe, as a ſmall and obvious addition to the properties of ſome ſubſtance already known. Then I ſhall carry the ſtudent back, and ſhew him that the influence of our new diſcovery extends alſo to thoſe ſubſtances which we had been conſidering before. Thus, all the doctrines will be had eaſily, familiarly, and with confidence in their truth.

'I even think that this method will be more pleaſant,—the novelties, or reformations, being, by this method, diſtributed over the whole courſe. And it will have yet another advantage: It will make the ſtudent acquainted with the chemiſtry of former years, which is far from being unworthy of the attention of a philoſopher. Newton, Stahl, Margraaf, Cramer, Scheele, Bergmann, were geniuſes not below the common

common level. But the perſon who learns chemiſtry by Lavoiſier's ſcheme, may remain ignorant of all that was done by former chemiſts, and unable to read their excellent writings.

'I do not find that my old arrangement needs much change: Some I will make,—chiefly in the order in which I treat the inflammable ſubſtances and the metals.'

We have already mentioned, in general terms, the great additional value which Mr Robiſon's notes confer upon this publication. Beſides a variety of curious and original chemical facts, they illuſtrate, by ſeveral very important documents and acute reaſonings, the hiſtory of Dr Black's diſcoveries. They anſwer the demand which was long ago made by Mr Nicolſon, that ſome contemporary author ſhould adjuſt the claims of the ſeveral philoſophers who have borne a part in eſtabliſhing the doctrine of latent heat. * They prove to a demonſtration, that the undivided honour of this grand diſcovery is due to the author of theſe Lectures, whoſe amiable and dignified modeſty prevented him from taking the neceſſary ſteps to ſecure his own claims. The following ſtatement of the attempts that have been made to rob him of his juſt fame, preſents no very pleaſing picture of the philoſophical character; and we are almoſt inclined to hope that Mr Robiſon, from whom our authority is derived, has been miſtaken in his deciſions. We feel it our duty, however, to give the circumſtances to the public as he has detailed them; premiſing that we are ſorry we can ſee no immediate reaſons for doubting his accuracy, while we rely moſt implicitly on his veracity and candour.

Dr Black never publiſhed his own account of the diſcovery, but he gave it, every year after 1760, in his Lectures, to very numerous claſſes of ſtudents from various parts of Europe. It is proved, from his note-books, as well as from the concurring teſtimony of Meſſrs Robiſon and Watt, that he completed this diſcovery, as far as regards aqueous fluidity, between the years 1754 and 1757. We have already remarked, that he immediately extended it to the caſe of aëriform fluidity, even before he had actually performed the experiments by which the application is illuſtrated in detail. Among his pupils, Dr Black had many gentlemen of Geneva; particularly a M. Chaillet, in 1763, and a Dr Odier, who correſponded with M. De Luc, and communicated to our countryman ſeveral of that gentleman's meteorological obſervations. A Swediſh gentleman of the name of Willems, or Willemſon, (from Stockholm), was alſo much in the company of Dr Black and his friends, about the year 1768. He was wholly occupied with chemical ſtudies. From none of theſe ſtudents was the ſlighteſt hint ever obtained, that a doctrine in any degree reſembling that of latent heat, had been known in Geneva or Sweden.

* Tranſlation of Fourcroy, 27. ſect. of the valuable Note to Pt. I. ch. 5. § 2.

While the communication between this country and thoſe parts was thus conſtant, manuſcript copies of Dr Black's lectures were in very general circulation among his ſtudents. They were even ſold at a moderate price; and they contained accounts of his diſcoveries, if not altogether correct, at leaſt abundantly copious for all the purpoſes of plagiariſm. In 1770, a ſurreptitious publication of them was made by a London bookſeller, under a general title; and this work gave a very diſtinct ſtatement of the leading parts of the doctrine, with a full acknowledgement that Dr Black was the diſcoverer. In 1772, Mr Wilcke of Stockholm read a paper to the Royal Society of that city, in which the abſorption of heat, by melting ice, is deſcribed; and in the ſame year, M. De Luc of Geneva, publiſhed his *Recherches ſur les modifications de l'Atmoſphere*, in which the doctrine is, with much leſs accuracy, employed to explain ſome meteorological facts.

Our readers will probably have anticipated the concluſion which this ſtatement of circumſtances forces us to draw,—that both the one and the other of theſe gentlemen, in all probability, owed their knowledge of the abſorption of heat to the diffuſion of Dr Black's diſcovery, through the medium of his Lectures. But the ſubſequent conduct of M. De Luc deſerves our farther attention; and leaves as little doubt, with reſpect to his culpability, as can exiſt upon a queſtion of this ſort.

About the year 1782, Dr Black was informed, that M. De Luc earneſtly wiſhed to become the editor of his obſervations upon latent heat, in order to ſecure Dr Black's claims to the diſcovery, from the attempts which were continually made by others to appropriate it. In conſequence of repeated ſolicitations, Dr Black gave his freind Mr Watt permiſſion to communicate the leading points of his theory, and inſtructions to perform the experiments before M. De Luc. Neither the Doctor nor his friends had now the ſmalleſt anxiety upon the ſubject: they truſted in the promiſe of the Geneveſe philoſopher, and expected to ſee in his great work, a full vindication of the claims which he had anxiouſly volunteered to defend. The publication at laſt arrived; and the mode of defence was ſomewhat novel. It conſiſted in a refutation of the claims urged by others, and an aſſertion, that the diſcovery of latent heat was entirely M. De Luc's own, Dr Black being only allowed the merit of having firſt *attempted* to meaſure the exact quantity of abſorption in the particular caſe of aqueous fluidity. Mr Watt then wrote a letter to M. De Luc, containing a full explanation of Dr Black's diſcovery, and inſiſted that this ſhould be publiſhed in the next volume of the work. It appeared accordingly; but was accompanied only by an acknowledgement of the ſatisfaction which M. De Luc received, from learning that his own ſyſtem had ſo able a defender as Dr Black;

a circumſtance, he adds, which will give him new confidence in the doctrine.

From the foregoing ſtatement, then, it appears, that M. De Luc publiſhed a work, containing a few crude ideas on the combination of heat; that he afterwards became better acquainted with the ſubject; that he formed a deſign to paſs for the author of the doctrine, by completing his knowledge of the theory, and twiſting his former vague ſtatements into ſome kind of ſimilarity; that, for this purpoſe, he applied to the man whom he knew to be the diſcoverer, and obtained, from him, a full account of the matter, under the pretext of defending his claim againſt others; that, inſtead of fulfilling his promiſe, he only refuted the claims of thoſe others, in order to bring forward his own; converted the documents which he had procured, to his own uſe; and concluded by politely laughing at the perſon whom he had thus defrauded. Such is the amount of the impreſſion made by Mr Robiſon's narrative, in the eighth note to the firſt volume. We wiſh that ſome friend of the Geneveſe philoſopher could ſtep forward to clear him from ſo foul a charge. We are willing to hope, that his conduct may be explained in a way conſiſtent, at leaſt, with the belief of his honeſty: for who can heſitate to pronounce, that the conduct here imputed to him, would have been deemed common impoſture, if avarice, not vanity, had been the motive, and money, not fame, the end?

Mr Robiſon has incorporated with the text of theſe Lectures, Vol. II. p. 215, ſome very curious obſervations upon the conduct of Lavoiſier and his aſſociates, both towards Dr Black, and in the eſtabliſhment of their new chemical ſyſtem. We rejoice that this ſubject is fairly brought before the public; and, on whichever ſide the deciſion may finally be given, the hiſtory of the ſcience, as well as the political hiſtory of the times, is likely to be illuſtrated by the diſcuſſion. That the French chemiſts formed themſelves into a junto for the propagation of their ſyſtem; that, like all juntos, they delivered their doctrines with an authoritative tone, highly indecorous in matters of ſcience; and that they even diſplayed ſomewhat of a ſpirit of perſecution towards thoſe who, from ancient habits, or from a predilection for their own new theories, refuſed their aſſent to the antiphlogiſtic doctrines, are facts which cannot be diſputed. As little can it be denied, that the Pariſian philoſophers, animated, like all ſimilar aſſociations, by an *eſprit de corps*, and mingling with this, very ſtrong national partialities, arrogated to themſelves the merit of every important diſcovery, nay, of almoſt all the detached obſervations which had been made in any part of Europe during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Now, Mr Robiſon requires us to go a ſtep farther, and to admit

that the motive for changing the nomenclature may be found in the ſame corporation and national ſpirit,—in a deſire to obliterate the remembrance of every thing which did not owe its origin to the aſſociated academicians of France,—in the ſame combination of innovating phrenzy, and puerile vanity, which produced the new calendar and metrology. We confeſs our diſpoſition to queſtion this, at leaſt in the extent to which it is here puſhed. No one can deny that the love of ſyſtem had riſen to a very great height in France, at the time of the innovations now alluded to; and it would appear, that as much of the calendar and metrology as is analagous to the nomenclature, owed its origin to this ſpirit of ſyſtematizing and claſſifying all the objects of our contemplation. Inſtead of blaming the new chemical language for its reſemblance to the other changes, we are inclined to laugh at the pedantry of its authors, who could overlook the eſſential diſtinction between the two caſes, fooliſhly think of giving new names to the ideas of moſt ordinary recurrence in common life, and attempt ſuddenly to alter the language and the habits of the vulgar, for the pleaſure of an uſeleſs uniformity. It cannot be doubted, that political views mingled with this love of ſyſtem in preparing the change of the calendar; perhaps thoſe views were the chief inducement to its adoption. But it ſhould be remembered, that mere innovation, however ſudden, in matters purely ſpeculative, is liable to no one of the manifold objections which are ſo deciſive againſt all ſudden political changes, however ſpecious. And in this moſt eſſential particular, the two caſes are exactly oppoſed to each other:—that the new nomenclature was adopted, after a ſeries of the moſt beneficial and fundamental changes had been effected upon the whole ſcience of chemiſtry; while nothing called for the new calendar, but the moſt deſtructive revolution which the violence and folly of mankind ever brought about. The dogmatical ſpirit, indeed, with which the new nomenclature, and, in general, the new ſyſtem, was promulgated, had a tendency to obliterate much very valuable information, contained in the writings of the elder chemiſts: and we conceive, that the preſent publication, if it ſerved no other end, would be highly important as a collection of things not to be met with in the works of the new ſchool.

Mr Robiſon, among the obſervations to which we are now alluding, introduces a fact, upon the authority of Profeſſor Lichtenberg of Gottingen. We give it to our readers as an amuſing inſtance of that univerſal *charlatanerie* (the word cannot be tranſlated by a people ſo deſtitute of the thing) which renders the French national character the leaſt *reſpectable* of any in the civilized world. When the Pariſian chemiſts, it ſeems, had finiſhed their grand experiment on the compoſition of water, they

they held a ſort of feſtival, at which Madam Lavoiſier, in the habit of a prieſteſs, burnt Stahl's *Fundamenta* on an altar, while ſolemn muſic played a *requiem* to the departed ſyſtem. The German Profeſſor remarks, that if Newton had been capable of ſuch a childiſh triumph over the *vortices* of Des Cartes, he could never be ſuppoſed the man who wrote the *Principia*; and Mr Robiſon moſt juſtly adds, that if Newton or Black had ſo exulted over Des Cartes and Meyer, their countrymen would have concluded they were out of their ſenſes.

The injuſtice of Lavoiſier's behaviour to Dr Black, has perhaps been ſomewhat overrated by our author. He attempted, indeed, to conceal the very name of the diſcoverer of latent heat, in his papers upon that doctrine. This appears to have been his mode of proceeding on all ſuch occaſions. He ſeems to have thought that the variation of an experiment, or the farther proſecution of an idea, gave him a right of property in the whole ſubject. But we can ſcarcely conſider his well-known letter to Dr Black as very irrefragable evidence of duplicity, when we reflect on the unmeaning complimentary ſtyle which all Lavoiſier's countrymen adopt upon every occaſion. Dr Black was perhaps as little entitled to interpret the expreſſions of that letter into a profound reſpect for his original genius, as he would be to infer affection from the ordinary beginning, or ſubmiſſion from the concluſion of the leſs verboſe epiſtolary effuſions of his own countrymen. We muſt refer our readers, however, to the 'Obſervations' themſelves for a full ſtatement of the facts upon which Mr Robiſon's remarks are founded. They certainly throw very conſiderable difficulties in the way of thoſe who may be inclined to defend the French philoſophers *.

The diſcuſſions which Mr Robiſon's notes contain upon various points of modern chemiſtry, are of ineſtimable importance to the ſtudent of that ſcience. They draw his attention towards the weak parts of that beautiful theory into which the French philoſophers have expanded the concluſions ſanctioned by experiment; and ſuggeſt to him, at every ſtep, the difference

* The conduct of Fourcroy, and of one or two other chemical writers, not immediately engaged in the original inquiries which led to the new ſyſtem, has been much more fair towards Dr Black. Fourcroy, in particular, has uniformly mentioned his name with the greateſt reſpect, and has unequivocally admitted his claims to both of the grand diſcoveries which place him at the head of modern chemiſts. See Fourcroy's careful enumeration of the important benefits conferred upon the ſcience by the diſcovery of fixed air, *Elem. of Chemiſtry & Nat. Hiſt.* vol. I.; alſo *Syſteme des Connaiſſances Chimiques*, vol. I. p. 13.; Ibid. p. 28. 49. He fixes the date of the diſcovery of fixed air,

between the unſupported and the unqueſtionable poſitions of the ſyſtem. In point of fairneſs and ingenuity, theſe diſcuſſions are indeed ſuperior to any with which we are acquainted. The new theory has never yet been treated with ſo much candour and impartiality. Mr Robiſon is, in fact, only an adverſary to the doctrines which are not warranted by induction, or are inconſiſtent with known facts; and we ſhall now offer a few obſervations upon thoſe doctrines, not as a ſpecimen of what our author has given, but as a caution to our readers againſt that implicit confidence in the univerſal truth of the antiphlogiſtic theory, which is derived from an unphiloſophical careleſſneſs about the facts, and a predetermination to learn the ſyſtem ſynthetically.

Lavoiſier and his followers maintain, that the light and heat extricated during the combuſtion of inflammable bodies, come entirely from the oxygenous gas. Now, to paſs over the very weighty objections ariſing from the deflagration of nitrous ſalts, objections which have only been got rid of by the moſt gratuitous explanations, how does it happen that the union of many inflammable bodies, as ſulphur and iron, ſulphur and lead, &c. produces an ignition (*i. e.* an emiſſion of light and heat) as violent as the union of the ſame inflammable bodies with oxygen? Is it conſiſtent with the moſt obvious principles of induction, to attribute the light produced in caſes of combuſtion entirely to the oxygenous gas, when the ſame bodies are found, in caſes of union without that gas, to give out ſuch quantities of light? Light, indeed, attracts oxygen from bodies, and contributes to give it the gaſeous form. But the union of light with inflammable bodies is a fact fully as unqueſtionable, and entitles us as poſitively to conclude, that part, at leaſt, of the light emitted in combuſtion comes from them.

Beſides, various inſtances may be given of bodies, confeſſedly incapable of forming any union with oxygen, giving out light, when heated to a certain point. Salts, and earths, and combinations of the two, as glaſs, are eaſily made red, and even white

air, by Dr Black, in 1755 or 1757; and the repetition of his experiments, by Lavoiſier, in 1771 & 1772; vol. I. p. 36. From the unfortunate circumſtance of Dr Black never having publiſhed any account of his other great diſcovery, we cannot expect that his claim to it ſhould be adjuſted with equal preciſion. But the ſame author (vol. I. p. 40.) gives a very clear teſtimony in favour of our countryman upon this point alſo. In enumerating the ſubjects of Lavoiſier's chemical memoirs, he mentions one as having been written by that author, in 1777, on the combination of the matter of heat with evaporable fluids, and the formation of elaſtic fluids; and adds, 'Theſe ideas, a long while before diſſeminated by Black, were ſtill little known in France, and facilitated to Lavoiſier the introduction of all his other data.'

white hot, without any oxydation, or any change whatever of their properties, except the expulsion of moisture, and other volatile ingredients in their composition. Other bodies, capable of uniting with oxygen at a high temperature, appear capable of being ignited by a lower degree of heat. Thus, linen cloth, when exposed to a heat somewhat higher than that of boiling water, seems, in the dark, to be covered with a blue lambent flame, and yet, when examined, shews no symptom whatever of oxygenation; for it is not in the slightest degree decomposed; and there is no instance of such heterogeneous bodies being oxydated entire.

How does it happen, that a body, admitted to be acid, should contain no oxygen? The Prussic acid is this body. And how comes it, that water, which is so highly oxygenated, has no properties of an acid? To say, as the followers of Lavoisier have done, that hydrogen is not an acidifiable base, is exactly to state the difficulty in another form of words.

How is the deflagration of water, in the following experiment, accounted for, upon any principle in the new theory? If sulphuric acid and oxymuriate, either of potash or soda, rendered as dry as possible, are mixed together, a red and fuming liquor is formed, having somewhat of a nitrous smell, but containing no nitrous acid or nitrous gas. Let a drop of water be projected upon this liquor while the red colour remains, it instantly deflagrates with a slight explosion. This explains the experiment of triturating sulphur with oxymuriates, and of the explosions sometimes found to attend the mixture of sulphuric acid with those salts when in a moist state. But how is the water first decomposed, and then recompounded? We can find no explanation of this, even in the doctrine of predisposing affinities, invented for the purpose of overcoming all difficulties.

When a certain degree of heat, without light, is applied to many inflammable bodies, they are vaporized, without oxygenation, decomposition, or flame. Apply a lower temperature, with light, and the vapour burns. Yet, what effect should the presence of light produce, according to the theory of Lavoisier?

A multitude of other facts might be mentioned, all tending to shew how unfounded that confidence is which the followers of the new chemistry have reposed in the universality of its powers of explanation. Mr Robison, who states a variety of such facts, acquits Lavoisier of the charge of an unphilosophical readiness to generalize, which has been brought against his followers. But it must be acknowledged, that Lavoisier himself was too fond of a beautiful theory—a system which explained every thing—to observe with sufficient strictness the rules of analytical investigation; and his system of chemistry seems liable, even in the

last

laſt form which he gave it, to all thoſe judicious and philoſophical criticiſms which the firſt ſketch of it called forth from Dr Black.

We cannot conclude theſe very general and deſultory reflections, without again expreſſing our obligations to Mr Robiſon for the high intellectual treat which this publication has afforded us. If any thing could render the preſent more acceptable, it would be the addition of an index, or a full table of contents.

ART. II. *Le Malheur et La Pitié: Poëme en quatre Chants.* Par M. l'Abbé de Lille, un des Quarante de l'Academie Françoiſe. Publié par M. de Mervé. Dulau, Londres, 4to, 1803.

La Pitié: Poëme en quatre Chants. Par Jacques de Lille. Paris, 1803.

THERE is no living author, we believe, whoſe works have attained ſo extenſive and ſo durable a celebrity as thoſe of M. de Lille. It is now upwards of twenty years ſince the poem of 'Les Jardins' began to be read out of France; and, in the courſe of that time, it has been tranſlated into almoſt all the languages of Europe, and been made the ſubject of criticiſm and imitation from Warſaw to Naples. A reputation that prevails ſo univerſally, and is retained ſo long, muſt neceſſarily be merited; and it would not only be preſumptuous, but abſurd, to call in queſtion the reality of thoſe excellences, to which the whole European world has borne ſo unequivocal a teſtimony. We may be permitted, however, to inquire a little into the peculiar nature of thoſe merits which have met with ſo general approbation; and to conſider whether they are not attended with any characteriſtic defects.

It probably will not appear very flattering to a French writer, or to his French admirers, to ſay, that he has extended his reputation, chiefly by abandoning his national peculiarities, and added materially to the beauty of his compoſitions, by accommodating them to the taſte of his neighbours. Yet ſuch, it appears to us, is undoubtedly the caſe with M. de Lille. He has recommended his works to general peruſal, by departing, in a good meaſure, from the common poetical ſtyle of his countrymen; by adopting, freely, the beauties of the ſurrounding countries, and forming himſelf upon the model of all that appeared to him to be excellent in the poetry of modern Europe. French poetry, we are inclined to ſuſpect, never had any very ſincere admirers out of France. The general diffuſion of the language of that people, the

the excellence of many of their writings, and their early proficiency in criticiſm and the *belles lettres*, had indeed given a certain currency to moſt of their domeſtic favourites, and ſpread into the circulation of Europe, whatever had received the ſtamp of Pariſian approbation. But their reception was more owing to the authority by which they were recommended, than to their own powers of univerſal faſcination. Men wiſhed to admire the poems of thoſe, whoſe proſe was in general ſo delightful; and ſeldom had courage to ſet up their own judgement in oppoſition to the ſentence of a tribunal that was for the moſt part ſo enlightened. French poetry was read, therefore, and applauded over all Europe, without being ſincerely admired. Some pretended to be enchanted with it, and others imagined that they were ſo; while all the men of letters ſpoke of it with deference, and condemned, without mercy, all that reſembled it in the productions of their own countrymen. Although a poet who had obtained reputation in France, was not ſure, therefore, of pleaſing all the reſt of Europe, he came before his foreign readers with very conſiderable advantages. He was certain of being patiently and favourably liſtened to, and might aſſure himſelf, that many would applaud, and that the greater part would be willing to admire. As ſoon, therefore, as a French poet appeared, who was willing to lay aſide the gaudy *coſtume* of his country, and to accommodate himſelf to the taſte of the other European nations, it was to be expected that his popularity would be at leaſt equal to his merits. It was reſerved for M. de Lille to make this experiment; and we are really perſuaded, that a very great ſhare of his reputation is to be aſcribed to its ſucceſs.

It is chiefly from the modern poets of England, that M. de Lille has borrowed the peculiarities of his manner. Beſides the obvious and avowed imitations of Pope, Addiſon, Goldſmith, Cowper, and Darwin, that occur in the preſent publication, there is ſomething in the whole temper and complexion of his compoſitions, that certainly does not belong to the genuine ſchool of French poetry. The proſe of Rouſſeau and of Florian, may have afforded ſome inſtances of it; but if it had a poetical origin, it muſt have been borrowed from the poetry of England. The great vice of the French poets, was an affected magnificence of diction, and elevation of ſentiment, that admitted of no relaxation, and precluded, in a great degree, all that was intereſting or natural. The charm of eaſy and powerful expreſſion was generally ſacrificed to the ſupport of a certain ſonorous and empty dignity; the picturesque effect of individual deſcription was loſt in cold generalities; character was effaced, by the prevalence of one glittering uniform; and high-ſounding *ſentiments* were ſubſtituted for the language

guage of nature and of paſſion. In this way, almoſt all the ſerious poetry of France had come to reſemble the declamation of a hired pleader, in which no imitation of nature was ſo much as attempted; but all kinds of reflections and antitheſes were thrown together in a ſtyle of affected paſſion, and falſe elevation. Every Engliſh reader, we apprehend, muſt have felt how little painting there is in the poetry of France, and how much more it deals in thoughts than in images. It is full of reaſoning and ingenuity, and abounds in all the graces of polite and elegant expreſſion; but there is little that comes diſtinctly forward to the imagination or the heart; and we are never tempted, for a moment, to believe in the inſpiration of the author.

M. de Lille has corrected a great number of theſe defects, and diveſted the poetry of his country of a great deal of that artificial ſtatelineſs which was ſo fatal to its pathetic effect. Inſtead of vague and lofty declamation, he has preſented his readers with minute and faithful deſcriptions of all that was intereſting in his ſubjects; and has impreſſed them with the feelings he was deſirous of communicating, not by running over all the verbs and interjections that were ſuppoſed to denote them, but by placing before their eyes a living picture of the ſituations in which they muſt ariſe. In another particular, too, M. de Lille may be conſidered as an innovator in French poetry, and a follower of the Engliſh writers. He is the firſt, we believe, in that country, who has ſucceeded in embelliſhing his compoſitions with repreſentations of ruſtic ſcenery, and ruſtic virtues and occupations. His predeceſſors ſpoke, indeed, of groves and fountains, and paraded their muſes, as of old, among thickets and upon lawns; but they ſpoke of them as they did of the tygers and lions which were found in their company in the writers of antiquity, and neither pretended to detain their readers among them, nor to delineate them with the fulneſs and preciſion of realities. M. de Lille has made them familiar, however, with cottages and farms, and rendered current in verſe, the whole phraſeology of planting and encloſing. He has dwelt, with great feeling and effect, upon the contemplative and innocent pleaſures that a rural ſituation may afford, and has contrived to deſcribe them in language ſo pure and ſo elegant, that even the Pariſians have peruſed them without deriſion or diſguſt. He has not only ventured to ſpeak of the country, but has had the courage to take an intereſt in its inhabitants. The older French poets were utterly unacquainted with cottagers and huſbandmen. Their only ruſtic perſonages were ſhepherds and ſhepherdeſſes, who aſked for nothing but ſympathy, and laboured at nothing but ſinging. M. de Lille has introduced the real peaſant and labourer to the acquaintance of his

his readers; has repreſented their occupations, their pleaſures, and their virtues; and has ſolicited relief for their ſufferings, and reſpect for their ſervices. All this is familiar to Engliſh poetry; but it was new to that of France.

M. de Lille, finally, is a much greater philanthropiſt than any of his predeceſſors we remember; and betrays, throughout, a ſort of ſentimental tenderneſs, and delicacy of feeling, that did not enter before into our conception of a French poet. His morality is perfectly pure; and there is not a page in his writings, in which he does not labour to enforce it. There is no poetry, with which we are acquainted, indeed, that is ſo uniformly and zealouſly moral.

But though, in theſe and ſome other particulars, M. de Lille bears a much greater reſemblance to the poets of England, than to thoſe of his own country, we muſt not imagine, by any means, that he has entirely renounced his national taſte, or conducted himſelf in every thing according to our notions of propriety. In examining more minutely the ſtructure of the poem before us, we ſhall have occaſion to point out ſeveral paſſages and turns of expreſſion, that are certainly very foreign to our habits of compoſition. Nor are we, on the other hand, to conceive that M. de Lille is a writer of a warm and enthuſiaſtic imagination, who has been hurried into a diſregard of his national models, by the impulſe of a bold and creative imagination, or from any ardour of temperament that diſdained the controul of authority. He is, in truth, a great deal more diſtinguiſhed for correctneſs and delicacy of taſte, than for original or inventive genius; and, while he has done us the honour of preferring our authors to his own, he has not copied any thing that could not be juſtified by claſſical uſage, or the moſt rigorous canons of criticiſm. He has prudently abſtained, therefore, from attempting to imitate thoſe higher graces of compoſition, which no imitator is ever permitted to attain; and has confined himſelf to thoſe accompliſhments of fine writing that may always be reached by the union of elegant taſte and diligent application. Although moſt of his writings, therefore, recal to us the general manner of Engliſh poetry, we ſhall be but ſeldom reminded of the loftier flights of Milton, the luxuriant tenderneſs of Thomſon, or the fairy fancy and magical facility of Shakeſpere. We ſhall find more of the pointed poliſh and elaborate elegance of Pope, the dignified and correct tenderneſs of Goldſmith, and the dazzling amplifications of Darwin. M. de Lille, in ſhort, is a refined, ſtudied, polite, and accompliſhed writer, who never forgets himſelf in the ardour of compoſition, and ſeldom lets the reader forget him; who culls out the niceſt phraſes, and moſt unexceptionable images; and oftener reminds

us that the deſcription is beautiful, than he impoſes upon us with the belief of its reality. He belongs to that claſs of poets that may be ſaid to be of *ſecondary formation*, and that could not have exiſted, if a hardier race had not exiſted before them. He does not wander in the pathleſs places of Parnaſſus, nor gather flowers where no poetical foot had ever trodden before him. He has the praiſe of judicious ſelection, artful diſpoſition, and dignified imitation. He has reached the eminence upon which he ſtands, by following with attention the footſteps of thoſe who have mounted ſtill higher. He has become a poet by reading and patient diſcipline; and probably could not have written 'les Jardins,' if he had not begun with a tranſlation of Virgil.

The ſubject of M. de Lille's poems do not naturally carry him into the higher regions of poetry, and he does not ſeek for occaſions of elevation. The art of laying out pleaſure-grounds, and of paſſing one's time agreeably in the country, might be diſcuſſed, no doubt, without treſpaſſing on the provinces of the Epic or the Tragic writer; but admitted, at the ſame time, of a great deal of pathetic imagery, and a great variety of embelliſhment. It would be improper to enter upon any particular criticiſm of theſe poems, in this place; but there is one remark ſuggeſted by them, which applies ſo obviouſly to the general character of M. de Lille's genius, that no apology can be neceſſary for its inſertion. The greater part of the pleaſure derived from poetical repreſentations of ruſtic ſcenery and occupations, conſiſts in a pleaſing illuſion of the imagination, that carries us back to the golden age of the poets, and ſoothes us into a temporary forgetfulneſs of all the vice and the artifice, the cares and perplexities of real life. There is ſome period in every man's life, in which he has fancied that happineſs and innocence were to be found among cottages and paſtures, and deſired to retire from the buſtle and corruption of the world, to ſome elegant and ſimple ſecluſion; and, as often as ſpleen or diſappointment turn back his thoughts to this viſion of his childhood, the diſſipation and conſtraint of a city life always preſent themſelves as objects of ſcorn and deteſtation. Whatever tends, therefore, to recal our thoughts to thoſe incongruous objects, is miſplaced in ſuch a poem; it diſpels the illuſion, by the help of which alone, ſuch themes are capable of pleaſing, and diſtracts the imagination from the train of images that engroſſed it. Now, this fault, which is not chargeable either upon Virgil or Thomſon, M. de Lille has certainly committed. He begins his encomium on a country life, with ſome critical remarks on the regulation of private theatres, and entertains his readers with a long enumeration of pompous villas, and great princes that inhabit them. He is conſtantly interſperſing ſarcaſtic and

and pointed reflections upon the diſſipated and luxurious, and has compoſed the greater part of his poem in ſuch an epigrammatic and courtly ſtyle, as is altogether unſuitable to the ſubjects upon which he is employed. Although enamoured of rural objects and employments, he ſeems anxious to convince his courtly readers, that he is as familiar as they can be with the language and occupations of the polite world; and that, though he chooſes to ſhew his ſenſibility to obſcure and ſentimental pleaſures, he poſſeſſes all the urbanity and accompliſhments of a gentleman and a courtier. His whole ſtyle is infected with this peculiarity; he cannot avoid an ingenious turn, or a brilliant antitheſis; and inſtead of the ſimple and enthuſiaſtic votary of nature and virtue, he frequently appears like a fine gentleman paying compliments to the ſylvan goddeſſes.

Upon the whole, we think that the genius of M. de Lille is rather of a pleaſing, than a powerful character; and that the delicacy of his taſte, and the elegance of his language, are a good deal more remarkable than the force of his imagination, or the originality of his invention. He will be reliſhed moſt, we conceive, by thoſe who admire rather the art, than the nature of poetry; and though he will give delight to almoſt all who have been trained to the admiration of elegance, by the habitual ſtudy of fine writers, he will ſcarcely ever be found ſpeaking in that univerſal language, by the uſe of which, Shakeſpere has found his way, from the cloſet of the ſtudent, into the workſhops of our manufacturers, and the cottages of our peaſantry. It is now proper, however, to leave thoſe general obſervations upon the poetical character of the author, and to inquire how he has acquitted himſelf in the publication now before us.

There is ſomething ſingular in the hiſtory of this publication. M. de Lille emigrated from France ſoon after the beginning of the Revolution, and took refuge, ſeveral years ago, in England. There he compoſed that edition of the preſent poem, the title of which ſtands firſt at the head of this article, and ſent the manuſcript to be printed, under the care of his friend M. de Merve. While the work was going through the preſs, however, in the beginning of the preſent year, the impaired ſtate of his health, as we are informed, made him yield to the ſolicitations of the Conſular cabinet, and conſent to return to his native country. Soon after his eſtabliſhment at Paris, and before the London bookſellers had been able to complete the firſt publication, they were ſurpriſed to find that an edition had been publiſhed in France, under the immediate inſpection of the author; in which ſeveral paſſages that might have given offence to the new government are ſuppreſſed,

preſſed, and large additions are made, in a ſtyle more courtly and ingratiating. We ſhall take notice of the moſt conſiderable of theſe variations as we go along; only premiſing, in this place, that the largeſt of the retrenched paſſages related to the atrocities that were perpetrated in the late invaſion of Switzerland, and that the moſt remarkable addition conſiſts in a congratulatory addreſs to the French people upon the re-eſtabliſhment of their religion, and the reſtoration of peaceful purſuits. The praiſe and commiſeration of the Royal family is retained, without any qualification. The London edition, it may be obſerved, contains, in the notes, all the additions that have been made in that of Paris.

The plan of the poem, we cannot help thinking, is ſomewhat ſcholaſtic and formal. The ſubject is Pity—or the active principle of benevolence towards the diſtreſſed; and, to illuſtrate the operations of this principle with the happieſt poetical effect, the author has been able to bethink himſelf of no better plan, than to begin with deſcribing the duties that are owing to the misfortunes of horſes, dogs, and other domeſtic animals: then, by a cautious and gradual aſcent, he proceeds to the miſeries of ſlaves and hired ſervants; and at laſt arrives at the diſtreſſes of fellow-citizens, parents, and friends, with their correſponding ſympathies, and appropriate degrees of compaſſion. This ſcale of misfortune and pity occupies the firſt canto. The ſecond treats of the 'Pity of Governments,' and has, for its ſubject, the caſe of debtors, convicts, and all manner of ſick and unhappy perſons, in public hoſpitals, priſons, or garriſons. The two laſt cantos are conſecrated to the miſeries of the Revolution; the third containing a detail of the objects of pity, during the reign of terror, among whom the Royal ſufferers hold the moſt diſtinguiſhed place; and the fourth treating of thoſe particular caſes of revolutionary diſtreſs, that aroſe from the confiſcation of property, and the expatriation of the individual. In the adjuſtment of this plan, there is certainly no great artifice of method; the parts do not naturally ſuggeſt each other; nor are they ſo appropriated to their places, as not to be interchanged without obvious diſadvantage. This, however, is partly the fault of the ſubject: a poem upon pity muſt neceſſarily conſiſt of a ſeries of pictures and illuſtrations; and the author can only be blamed for having ſelected them injudiciouſly, or for having ſubjected them to a fantaſtic and unnatural arrangement.

The firſt canto is almoſt entirely engaged in the moſt hopeleſs common-places of poetry. Upon the ſubject of cruelty to animals, the ſage of Samos is brought in, with his uſual *cortege* of lowing oxen and bleating ſheep; and the oration which Thomſon imitated from Ovid, is here very elegantly tranſlated from

Thomſon.

Thomſon. The iniquity of horſe-racing is expoſed in a very long homily, and the abominations of the ſlave-trade are detailed in the accuſtomed manner. There is ſome magnificent verſification in all this; but there are alſo many paſſages, which, to an Engliſh ear at leaſt, appear extremely tame and awkward. The ſubject of animal miſery is announced, for inſtance, in theſe lines, which we really ſuppoſed at firſt to relate to the peaſantry.

' Vous donc, ſoyez d'abord le ſujet de mes chants,
O vous, qui fécondez, ou qui peuplez nos champs ! ' p. 5.

There is ſomething miſerably unſucceſsful, and almoſt ridiculous, in the following attempt to give great intereſt and energy to a well known anecdote.

' Tel ne fut point Hogart : ſa main compatiſſante
Traça des animaux l'hiſtoire attendriſſante.
De là, ce noble élan, ces admirables mots
D'une âme généreuſe et ſenſible à leurs maux,
Qui, voyant des courſiers torturés par leur maître,
S'écrie : " O cœur barbare, homme dur, qui peut-être
" Au ſein de ton ami plongerois le poignard,
" Tu n'as donc jamais vu les peintures d'Hogart ! " p. 9.

The tranſition to the horrors of the ſlave-trade, is made in this intolerable couplet.

' Tairai-je ces enfans de la rive Africaine
Qui cultivent pour nous la terre Américaine ? ' p. 14.

One of the moſt ſtriking inſtances of a taſte that is certainly foreign, and, we are almoſt perſuaded, is alſo falſe, occurs in the beginning of the ſtory of Fidelia, which M. de Lille has verſified from one of the papers of the Spectator, with great elegance and great exactneſs. Addiſon had called his heroine a beautiful young woman, and had ſaid that ſhe was beloved by a young man of great merit. The French academician thus improves theſe ſimple expreſſions :

' Au ciſeau de Scopas, même au pinceau d'Apelle
La Beauté que je chante eût ſervi de modèle.
Un amant l'adoroit, tel que le Dieu d'amour
L'eût choiſi pour charmer les Nymphes de ſa cour. ' p. 17.

In a lamentation over his own blindneſs, the general idea of which is evidently borrowed from Milton, M. de Lille goes out of his way to make the following unneceſſary attack on the political principles of that great man :

' Je n'eus ni ſes talens, ni ſa lâche foibleſſe :
Admirable poëte et mauvais citoyen,
Il outragea ſon maître, et j'ai chanté mien. ' p. 20.

We cannot help wiſhing, that among the paſſages which are ſuppreſſed in the edition of Paris, M. de Lille had had the grace

to expunge this alſo. We do not know with what propriety the appellation of 'lâche foibleſſe' can be applied to the ſtern and unbending republicaniſm of Milton; but we are perſuaded, that *he* would not have purchaſed the protection of his opponents by any weak compliances; and that he would never have ſuppreſſed or altered any paſſage in his immortal poem, merely becauſe it might have given offence to the Royal cenſors of the day.

The canto ends with a pleaſing, but ſomewhat puerile ſtory, of the virtuous Mopſus, whoſe cottage was burnt down, and the ſenſible Dormond, who ſecretly contrived to build him another, ſo very like the old one, as to produce an amuſing ſurpriſe.

'Ses murs, vieillis par l'art, offrent même coup d'œil;
Semblable en eſt l'entrée, et ſemblable eſt le ſeuil.
C'eſt leur même buffet, c'eſt leur modeſte table;
Nombre égal d'animaux a peuplé leur étable.
Et juſque dans leur cour, un nombre égal d'oiſeaux
Eſt perché ſur les toits, ou nage dans les eaux.
Seulement leur vieux coq, qu'avoient ſauvé ſes ailes,
Ne reconnoiſſoit plus ſes amantes nouvelles.'—
'De ſes hochets perdus, ſon unique tréſor,
Seul, leur plus jeune enfant ſe déſoloit encor;
On apaiſe ſes cris. Cependant la chaumière
A repris du travail l'activité première,
Les roſeaux avec art s'enlacent aux roſeaux;
J'entends tourner la roue et rouler les fuſeaux.' p. 27. 28.

Theſe lines are certainly beautiful; and the incidents, though ſomewhat too *ingeniouſly* imagined, muſt be allowed to be natural, and ſtrictly in harmony with the whole deſign.

The Second canto is, on the whole, rather dull. There is nothing ſo eaſy, and nothing ſo tedious, as diſſertations on the miſeries of captivity, war, ſickneſs, and the other corporated plagues of human life. The picture of the priſoner is copied, or rather exactly tranſlated, from Cowper's fine ſketch of the Baſtile: only the ſtriking circumſtance of his ſeeking to wear out the tedious time by counting the iron ſtuds on his door in all directions, and beginning again when the calculation is completed, is omitted by the French poet, as too whimſical, and too little dignified, for his elaborate couplets. In return, however, he has added to the deſcription of the Engliſh poet, by informing us, that 'the vault is the priſoner's ſky, and the walls his horizon.' We have reaſon to be proud, we think, of the difference in the national taſte of the two writers.

M. de Lille is very poetically angry at the injuſtice of thoſe laws that condemn a debtor to impriſonment; and is for allowing maniacs to range among flowers and fountains, inſtead of ſhutting them up in ſolitary dungeons. He is eloquent, moreover, upon the

the eſtabliſhment at Botanybay, and declaims againſt ſolitary confinement as a piece of unneceſſary cruelty. The higheſt poetical talents would ſcarcely have ſelected for their theme ſuch vulgar prejudices, as muſt be diſſipated by the loweſt degree of political information. The priſon ſcenes are cloſed with a tranſlation of Dr Darwin's panegyric upon the celebrated Howard, in which M. de Lille approaches nearer to his original than in any of his other imitations; yet there is ſomething decidedly French in this claſſical introduction—

'Qu'on ne me vante plus les malheurs vagabonds
De ce roi voyageur, père de Télémaque;' p. 34.

in the deſcription of dungeons—

'Habites par la mort, et pavés d'oſſemens;' p. 35.

and in the idea of a priſoner finding the embraces of his wife and children a pleaſant exchange for his fetters.

In the deſcription of the hoſpitals, there is a great deal of ſtrong painting. The following lines, however, have too much of the tone of ſatire for the place in which they occur.

'Là, le long de ces lits, où gémit le malheur,
Victime des ſecours, plus que de la douleur,
L'ignorance, en courant, fait ſa ronde homicide,
L'indifférence obſerve, et le haſard décide.' p. 37.

In this canto, about 150 verſes, deſcriptive of the outrages that were perpetrated by the French armies in their laſt invaſion of Switzerland, are ſuppreſſed in the Paris edition; and a part of the deſcription is applied to the caſe of civil war in general. Though we by no means approve of the motive which has dictated this retrenchment, we cannot ſay that the poem has ſuffered any great injury from it. The lines in queſtion contained an overloaded and diffuſe deſcription of burning and butchery—Echo repeating groans, and Pity converted into revenge. There is one couplet we ſhould have been ſorry to loſe, deſcribing that inglorious ſelfiſhneſs,

'Qui, façonnant au joug les peuples abattus,
Sans oſer les forfaits, aſſoupit les vertus.'

Of the lines that have been retained and applied to a leſs offenſive ſubject, the following are among the moſt powerful, and afford a good ſpecimen of that elaborate and artificial ſtyle in which M. de Lille ſeeks for force in antitheſis, and ſublimity in exaggeration.

'De la vierge à genoux leur rage ouvre les flancs,
S'irrite ſans obſtacle, égorge ſans colère,
Et, s'il n'eſt teint de ſang, l'or ne ſauroit lui plaire.
Tout ce qui du paſſé gardoit le ſouvenir,
Tout ce qui promettoit un bonheur à venir,

Tout ce qui du préſent accroît la jouiſſance,
Les monumens des arts, ceux de la bienfaiſance,
Tout ſubit leur fureur: s'il offre un trait humain,
L'airain trouve un bourreau, le marbre un aſſaſſin.' p. 47.

The canto ends with the war of La Vendée, and an exhortation to peace and reconciliation, which the author puts into the mouth of Pity.

The Third canto, which relates entirely to the famous events of the Revolution, treats, of courſe, of a ſubject with which every one is already familiar and diſguſted. The atrocities of the days of proſcription, and the circumſtances of horror which accompanied the fate of many eminent individuals, can no longer be read with curioſity, and could ſcarcely ever be read with pleaſure. They have been ſounded ſo long in the ears of all Europe, that few people can now be found to liſten to them; and we doubt if even the charm of M. de Lille's verſification will carry many readers through the uniform and diſguſting details with which this part of his poem is charged. We have the delations and the diſtruſt, and the *noyades* and the *fuſilades*, and even the civic marriages, (which he calls, very ſimply, 'hymens qu'on abhorre,') and all the terrible *etcætera* of revolutionary enormities, detailed and deſcribed at full length in this canto. We are told, moreover, that Robeſpierre and Danton have at laſt gone 'to terrify the devils with their horrible countenances in hell;' and immediately after, the poet comes with a violent complaint againſt *Nature*, for abetting all thoſe crimes; and is very angry with the fire for burning the houſes of the loyaliſts, and with the earth for being a receiver of their dead bodies. We inſert this extraordinary paſſage.

'Que dis-je? la nature, ô comble de nos maux!
De tous ſes élémens ſeconde nos bourreaux.
Dans leurs cachots impurs l'air infecte la vie;
Le feu dans les hameaux promène l'incendie;
Et la terre complice, en ſes avides flancs,
Recèle par milliers les cadavres ſanglans.' p. 63.

This may be thought very fine in M. de Lille; but we are certain that it would appear abſolutely childiſh and abſurd in any Engliſh writer.

After going over the melancholy fate of M. de Briſſac, Mad. de Lamballe, and ſome other victims of leſs note, the author comes to the misfortunes of the Royal family. It is impoſſible to read, in any narrative, the hiſtory of the outrages and barbarity with which the unfortunate Louis was treated, without feeling compaſſion for his ſufferings, and indignation towards his perſecutors. But we are not ſure if an inflated rhetorical repreſentation, ſuch as that of M. de Lille, is not, upon the whole, leſs impreſſive

impreſſive than a plain proſe narrative. The latter has more the air of truth and authenticity; and where the reality is ſo tragically intereſting, there is no room for fiction or eloquence to diſplay their illuſions. Beſides, the cataſtrophe is ſo well known, and preſſes ſo conſtantly upon the mind, that the detail of minor ſufferings produces ſcarcely any effect, and excites but a ſmall ſhare of our ſympathy. When Mr Burke publiſhed his Reflections, the account of the return from Verſailles produced an extraordinary intereſt; but after the blood of Louis and his conſort had flowed upon a public ſcaffold, we do not think that it was very judicious in M. de Lille to dwell upon it at ſo great length in this canto. The whole progreſs of the King's trial, depoſition, condemnation, and death, are then narrated in the ſame minute declamatory ſtyle; and a paſſage of at leaſt 200 lines, reads exactly like a verſification of ſome turgid and ſonorous funeral oration. In one place he breaks out into this dignified exclamation,

'Noirs eſprits des Enfers, quel conſeil ténébreux
Inventa, dites-moi, ces traitemens affreux?' p. 74.

At another ſtage of the proceeding, it is impoſſible, we are told, that any thing can be worſe; and Pity is exhorted to dry her tears. Then ſomething worſe is announced, and the poet will not believe it; and yields at length, with great agitation, to the dreadful certainty! In a ſtory ſo well known, this is very injudicious trifling. When he comes to the execution, he breaks off in this cold and affected manner:

'Ces tableaux font horreur: et je peins la Pitié!' p. 77.

And then he concludes in the very ſtyle of a common-place preacher, by recollecting that the Royal Martyr is no object of pity; and by telling the angels to take their lyres of gold, and receive him with triumphal palms! This we cannot help thinking a little profane; but the following lines, in which he lets himſelf down ſo familiarly to his mortal ſubject, appear to us to be ſtill worſe.

'Mais, d'où vient tout à coup que mon cœur ſe reſſerre?
Hélas! il faut des cieux revenir ſur la terre!
Louis en vain aſſiſte aux céleſtes concerts;
Les cieux ſont imparfaits, ſon épouſe eſt aux fers.' p. 77.

The ſucceſſive immolation of the Queen, Madame Eliſabeth, and the Dauphin, is then narrated in the ſame ſtyle, and with equal heavineſs and labour of compoſition. The canto terminates with an encomium on the heroic fortitude with which a multitude of beautiful women encountered a public death in that period of diſtraction. Of thoſe lovely victims, he ſays, with more prettineſs than pathos,

' Près d'elles du trépas l'aſpect eſt moins affreux.
La beauté, ſur la mort exerçant ſon empire,
L'adoucit d'un regard, l'embellit d'un ſourire.' p. 90.

The three virgins of Verdun, who were ſacrificed together, are then celebrated in the ſame manner; and the canto is cloſed with the following propoſal for commemorating their fate, by an annual feſtival in their honour. M. de Lille, who really does not ſucceed at all in tragical deſcriptions and ſcenes of blood, reſumes all his powers of faſcination, in ſketching out the paſtoral imagery and rural innocence of this romantic ſolemnity. The following verſes, which are in the true taſte of 'les Jardins,' came upon us with a refreſhing ſweetneſs after wading through ſo many oceans of blood.

' Mais s'il eſt quelque lieu, quelques vallons déſerts
Epargnés des tyrans, ignorés des pervers,
Là, je veux qu'on célèbre une fête touchante,
Aimable comme vous, comme vous innocente.
De là j'écarterai les images de deuil,
Là, ce ſexe charmant, dont vous êtes l'orgueil,
Dans la jeune ſaiſon reviendra chaque année,
Conſoler par ſes chants votre ombre infortunée.
" Salut, objets touchans," diront-elles en chœur,
" Salut, de notre ſexe irréparable honneur!
" Le temps, qui rajeunit et vieillit la nature,
" Ramène les zéphirs, les fleurs et la verdure;
" Mais les ans dans leur cours ne rameneront pas
" Une vertu ſi rare unie à tant d'appas,
" Eſpoir de vos parens, ornement de votre âge,
" Vous eûtes beauté, vous eûtes le courage,
" Vous vîtes ſans effroi le ſanglant tribunal,
" Vos fronts n'ont point pâli ſous le couteau fatal."——
——" Adieu: quand le printemps reprendra ſes guirlandes,
" Nous reviendrons encor vous porter nos offrandes;
" Aujourd'hui recevez ces dons conſolateurs,
" Nos hymnes, nos regrets, nos larmes et nos fleurs!" p. 92. 93.

The laſt canto is, at leaſt in the London edition, very much in the ſtyle of the preceding one, and might have formed a continuation of it, indeed, if it would not have been too long. It proceeds, in a ſtyle which we are rather ſurpriſed that the Conſular cenſors have not corrected, to enlarge upon the evils that France has ſuffered by the deſtruction of her royalty, and to expatiate upon the abſurd appearance that many of her new rulers make, in ſituations ſo oppoſite to their original. The ſtate of ſociety appears, ſays he very childiſhly, as much diſordered as 'a wood would do with its branches in the ground, and its roots in the air.' The unfortunate emigrants are then commemorated in

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a paſſage, that has borrowed the greater part of its beauties from the Deſerted Village, and are compared to the Iſraelites, during their captivity in Babylon: upon occaſion of which ſimile, a very beautiful paraphraſe of the 137th pſalm is inſerted. After this, there occurs, in the London edition, a very long paſſage, crying out againſt the confiſcation of property that took place, and aſking 'the god Termes' what he thinks of thoſe terrible doings. The poetical merit of theſe 150 lines is not great; but M. de Lille, when at Paris, probably repented him in a particular manner of the following:

——— ——— 'Mais j'entends des flatteurs
Dementir lâchement mes vers accuſateurs.
"Tout changé," dit-on, "et le pouvoir répare
"La longue iniquité d'un régime barbare."
Sans doute: le François, malheureux dépouillé,
Peut rentrer ſur un ſol de carnage ſouillé,
Peut errer ſur les murs habités par ſes pères,
Voir ſes blés moiſſonnés par des mains étrangères,
Et, par ſes ſouvenirs déchiré de plus près,
Joindre à tant d'autres maux le tourment des regrets.
Ah! quel exil affreux égale ce ſupplice!'

After this, there comes a very animated addreſs to the kings and rulers of the world, in behalf of the emigrating royaliſts. Though this is perhaps the beſt political paſſage in the poem, it is too long to be extracted. Our readers may judge of the ſtyle of it from the following verſes:

'Non, non: le temps n'eſt plus, où la ſoumiſſion,
D'un amour idolâtre heureuſe illuſion,
Environnoit le trône: une raiſon hardie,
De ce vieil univers nouvelle maladie,
Calcule ſes devoirs, et diſcute vos droits;
Sous la pourpre avilie interroge les Rois,
Déſenchante l'eſprit, et paralyſe l'âme;
Du feu chevaleresque éteint la noble flamme;
De l'état ſocial déſordonne les rangs.' p. 102-3.

At this period, the poet ſeems to have recollected that he was wandering a little from the proper ſubject of his poem; and to make amends, he ſuddenly burſts out into a new invocation to Pity, declares that no other ſubject is worthy of his muſe, and copies two long paſſages from Virgil to ſhow, in general, how much intereſt the language of compaſſion can give to a poetical compoſition. Having performed this evolution in honour of 'La Pitié,' the poet wheels round again to his revolutionary diſſertation, and commemorates the hoſpitality of diverſe princes and nations towards the unhappy emigrants who had implored their protection. The compliment to England is particularly

full and flattering: we ſhould be inclined to ſuſpect that the following verſes will not be very popular at Paris:

' Tes lois ſont la raiſon; tes mœurs ſont la ſageſſe,
Tes femmes la beauté, leur diſcours la candeur,
Leur maintien la décence, et leur teint la pudeur.
Tu joins les fruits des arts aux dons de la fortune,
Le tonnere de Mars au trident de Neptune.
Tantôt, foulant aux pieds l'athée audacieux,
C'eſt Minerve s'armant pour la cauſe des Dieux;
Tantôt, fille de mers, belle, fraîche et féconde,
C'eſt Vénus s'élevant de l'empire de l'onde.' p. 110.

After this, there is introduced a long romantic epiſode, containing the adventures of an intereſting emigrant, who, in his wanderings over the great deſerts of the world, fortunately ſtumbles upon the retreat of another emigrant, who had eſtabliſhed himſelf, like Robinſon Cruſoe (it is the author's own ſimile) with his wife and family in the ſolitary woods of America, and who detains his ancient Pariſian friend to make their ſociety more comfortable. There is ſome pretty landſcape painting in this part of the work; but the ſtory is ſpoiled by an attempt at too great refinement; and we could ſcarcely help laughing, when we were ſtopped, in following the courſe of this heart-ſick exile, to be informed that he was a curious botaniſt, and that

' De nombreux végétaux, dans ſa courſe intrépide,
Avoient déjà groſſi ſon porte-feuille avide.'

A part of this epiſode, it ſeems, was written by M. de Lille entirely from his own invention: but he was afterwards delighted to find that ſuch an incident had actually occurred, and modelled the concluſion of it according to authentic information.

From this point, there is ſcarcely any reſemblance between the London and the Paris editions. The former contains a long eulogium upon the army of Condé, and on the princes of the blood royal; an addreſs to the author's ancient patron, le Duc d'Artois; and a caution to the emigrants, not to be tempted back to France by the inſidious promiſes of the new government. The French copy leaves all this out, and concludes with a congratulatory addreſs on the reſtoration of civil order and religious rites, and on the return of ſecurity and peace after ſo long a tempeſt. In point of poetical beauty, we are ſorry to ſay, that the latter edition appears to us to have the advantage. There are ſome fine expreſſions of a loyal devotion, no doubt, in the addreſs to the princes; but the whole paſſage is infected with ſo much pedantry, and is compoſed in a taſte ſo decidedly French, that no Engliſh critic can be expected to ſhow it much mercy. What can be ſaid, for inſtance, for ſuch a cold ſcholaſtic conceit as the following?

' Qu'on

' Qu'on ne me vante plus ce triple Gérion
Dont trois âmes mouvoient la maſſe épouvantable :
J'aime à voir, ſurpaſſant les récits de la fable,
Un même eſprit mouvoir trois héros à la fois.
Condé, Bourbon, Enghien ſe font d'autres Rocroys.'

But the circumſtance that gives a decided ſuperiority to thoſe verſes in which M. de Lille muſt be admitted, we are afraid, to have recorded his own deſertion from the cauſe of his patrons, is the ſingular adaptation of the ſubject to his peculiar powers of deſcription. He is not formed by any means for recording deeds of blood, or ſcenes of terrible contention; but in the elegant and touching delineation of ruſtic ſcenery and innocent occupations, he is perhaps without a rival among the writers of modern Europe. We have no heſitation in ſaying, that the following verſes upon the reſtoration of religion, which do not appear in the text of the London edition, are by far the moſt beautiful in the whole poem :

' Je les revois enfin, ces tribunaux, où Dieu
Ecoute du remords l'attendriſſant aveu ;
Ces vaſes du Baptême, où les chefs des familles
Viennent purifier et leurs fils et leurs filles.
Même de vos clochers l'airain conſolateur,
Que pour un vil profit un bras profanateur
Fit deſcendre à leurs pieds, remonté vers leurs faîte,
Du patron du hameau proclame encor la fête.
Il vous appelle encore aux chants religieux,
Qui montent de la terre à la voûte des cieux ;
Au ſacrifice auguſte, à la ſainte tribune,
Où l'orateur chrétien conſole l'infortune ;
Demande encor des vœux pour les mortels ſouffrans,
Pour l'enfant nouveau-né, pour les vieillards mourans ;
Guide encor le berger, errant dans la campagne,
Qu'attendent ſes enfans et ſa chère compagne,
Qui, parmi les frimas, égaré dans la nuit,
Bénit, en avançant, le ſon qui le conduit,
Et, ſur le coq doré, l'honneur de ſon village,
Vers le toit paternel dirige ſon voyage.' p. 124-5.

We may add the following charming deſcription of a vernal feſtival in the country.

' Et, des que Mai ſourit, les agreſtes peuplades
Reprennent dans les champs leurs longues promenades.
A peine de nos cours le chantre matinal,
De cette grande fête a donné le ſignal,
Femmes, enfans, vieillards, ruſtique caravane,
En foule ont déſerté le château, la cabane.
A la porte du temple, avec ordre rangé,
En deux files déjà le peuple eſt partagé,

Enfin,

Enfin, paroît du lieu le cur reſpectable,
Et du troupeau chéri le paſteur charitable.
Lui-même il a réglé l'ordre de ce beau jour,
La route, les repos, le départ, le retour.
Ils partent : des z phirs l'haleine printannière,
Souffle, et vient ſe jouer dans leur riche bannière.
De leurs aubes de lin, et de leurs blancs ſurplis,
Le vent frais du matin fait voltiger les plis ;
La chappe aux boſſes d'or, la ceinture de ſoie,
Dans les champs étonnés en pompe ſe déploie,
Et, de la Piété, l'impoſant appareil
Vient s'embellir encore aux rayons du ſoleil.
Ils marchent : l'aubépine a parfumé leur route ;
On côtoie en chantant le fleuve, le ruiſſeau ;
Un nuage de fleurs pleut de chaque arbriſſeau ;
Et leurs pieds, en gliſſant ſur la terre arroſée,
En liquides rubis diſperſent la roſée.
On franchit les forêts, les taillis, les buiſſons,
Et la verte pelouſe, et les jaunes moiſſons.
Quelquefois, au ſommet d'une haute colline,
Qui ſur les champs voiſins avec orgueil domine,
L'homme du ciel étend ſes vénérables mains ;
Pour la grappe naiſſante et pour les jeunes grains,
Il invoque le ciel.——
O riant Chanonat ! ô fortuné ſéjour !
Je croirai voir encor ces beaux lieux, ce beau jour,
Où, fier d'accompagner le ſaint pélerinage,
Enfant, je me mêlois aux enfans du village ! ' p. 125—9.

Upon the whole, we think this poem decidedly inferior, in point of intereſt and beauty, to either of M. de Lille's performances upon rural ſubjects. His diction and verſification, indeed, are almoſt uniformly harmonious and elegant : but he wants ſimplicity and force for the higher departments of poetry, and commonly falls into a ſtyle of declamatory exaggeration and diſorder, whenever he abandons his old and appropriate ſubjects. ' Les Jardins, ' we have no doubt, will long be admired over all Europe : but M. de Lille muſt not expect to go down to poſterity as the poet of the Revolution.

Art. III. *Traité de Mineralogie.* Par le Citoyen Haüy, en Cinq Volumes, dont un contient 86 Planches : à Paris, an 10, (1801.)

From its intimate dependance on chemiſtry, mineralogy has profited extenſively by the recent diſcoveries in that ſcience. The compoſition of minerals has been illuſtrated by ingenious and delicate analyſes, and the number of ſimple ſubſtances has been increaſed by the diſcovery of new earths and new metals. The

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ſame accuracy of reſearch that has enlarged the number of components, has diminiſhed the eſtimated number of compounded bodies, by proving the frivolity of many ſuperficial diſtinctions which had been regarded as ſpecific, and by eſtabliſhing preciſe criteria of eſſential differences.

The advance and amplification of the ſcience has neceſſarily rendered every ſyſtematic work obſolete. The efforts by which the ſtrenuous mind of Linnæus endeavoured to pierce the darkneſs in which mineralogy was previouſly enveloped, now appear ill directed; and though the ſagacity of Cronſtedt, and the acuteneſs of Wallerius, may continue to claim our admiration, he who would attempt to reconcile the modern diſcoveries with their ſyſtems or arrangement, would find himſelf involved in the moſt inextricable confuſion. Yet, ſince their time, almoſt all the ſyſtems of mineralogy which have iſſued from the preſs have concurred in retaining the greater part of their defects, and contributed to perpetuate error by vicious arrangement and inaccurate deſcription. The Germans have, for the moſt part, contented themſelves with pillaging and mutilating the lectures of Werner; and the other nations of Europe have generally been ſatisfied with doing into their reſpective languages the Teutonic lucubrations. By this tranſmutation, we cannot ſay that they have generally improved. Diffuſion has become prolixity, obſcurity unintelligible, the old blunders have been religiouſly retained, and an innumerable hoſt of new abſurdities has been engendered.

A treatiſe on mineralogy, exhibiting a correct view of the preſent ſtate of our knowledge, was therefore a moſt important *deſideratum* in this department of ſcience; which the preſent publication of M. Haüy has done much to ſupply. His theory of cryſtallization has been in ſome degree previouſly communicated to the public by his papers in the *Journal des Mines;* and its ſingular ingenuity and utility muſt have been univerſally perceived. The ſame theory is now preſented in the moſt complete form; enriched with every ſubordinate illuſtration; applied to the inveſtigation and deſcription of minerals with infinite dexterity; and combined with a judicious ſelection of all the mineralogical facts which have been previouſly publiſhed, or that may have occurred to his own obſervation, or to his colleagues in the *Ecole des Mines;* from whoſe generous contributions, and induſtrious exertions, his volumes have derived additional value.

From theſe extenſive inveſtigations has reſulted a treatiſe, in which mineralogy is exhibited at leaſt in a new form, and a ſyſtem is delivered, differing from all that have preceded it, in general arrangement, individual diviſion, and nomenclature. Before we can determine, whether theſe extraordinary innovations are entitled

entitled to our unqualified approbation, it is neceſſary to inquire, whether they were actually called for by the errors of the prevailing ſyſtems, and whether they furniſh proper remedies for acknowledged defects.

From the uncertainty and obſcurity attending every infant ſcience, the determination of the mineralogical ſpecies has always been a ſubject of diſpute. The operation of no general principle being recogniſed, varieties have been wantonly conſtituted into ſpecies from the moſt frivolous and ſuperficial differences; and the moſt oppoſite and diſcordant ſubſtances have been violently united from fancied ſimilitudes. Though the prodigious improvements of analytic chemiſtry have thrown a ſtrong and ſteady light on ſome of the moſt obſcure branches of mineralogy, its aſſiſtance is not adequate to the determination of every ambiguous point; and chemiſtry itſelf is even yet too much in its infancy, for its deciſions to be always conſidered as an authority from which there is no appeal. By the means of analyſis, the combinations of earths and acids have been fully diſcloſed; the mixtures of metals, and the reſults of their union with acids, gaſes, and ſulphur, have been ſatisfactorily developed: but the combinations of earths with earths, yield reſults nearly ſimilar from ſubſtances of the moſt ſtriking diſſimilarity. In mineralogical character, and in the analyſis of different ſpecimens of the ſame mineral, as far as other teſts can determine its identity, a variety of compoſition has been detected no leſs mortifying than unexpected. Till the complicated operation of affinities is more perfectly underſtood, and we have learnt to correct by compenſation the errors they neceſſarily create, we muſt not implicitly rely on indications that may be fallacious. We muſt endeavour, therefore, to find ſome other criteria that may confirm the authority of analyſis where its march is aſſured, and its reſults ſatisfactory, and may ſerve as guides where its ſteps are faltering and irregular.

The preciſion of *cryſtalline forms* has not eſcaped the attention of mineralogiſts; and they have not been wanting in their endeavours to avail themſelves of it in diſtinguiſhing ſpecies. Linnæus, who firſt engaged in this inquiry, was followed by Bergman, whoſe labours tended greatly to its advancement; but it was reſerved for Romé de Liſle to enlarge the hitherto narrow limits of this branch of ſcience, by eſtimating angles with preciſion, and deducing all cryſtals from the modification of a few primitive forms. Though often ſucceſsful in explaining the origin of the moſt complex ſecondary forms, by means of the imaginary truncations and bevellings of a ſimple ſolid, the immenſe induſtry and great ſagacity of this laſt inquirer were frequently baffled,

baffled, and he was reluctantly obliged to ſuppoſe that ſome minerals poſſeſſed more than one original form, from which their modifications were deduced. However neceſſary ſuch a concluſion might appear, it was evidently inadmiſſible, without ſuppoſing a deviation from that uniformity which is invariably found in the works of nature; and even if the ſyſtem of Romé de Liſle had been refcued from this mortifying conceſſion, it would ſtill have been wholly unfit for the determination of minerals by their cryſtals, as a few ſimple ſolids would have been eſteemed the common origin of numerous ſubſtances moſt eſſentially diſtinct.

It was firſt obſerved by the truly ingenious and ſcientific Mr Kier in his Chemical Dictionary, and afterwards repeated by Bergman in his Opuſcula, that the fragments of *calcareous ſpar* were invariably rhomboidal. Theſe philoſophers, however, puſhed their inquiry but little farther. About the ſame time, though without being informed of their previous obſervations, the ſame fact occurred to M. Haüy. Upon his inquiring mind, it ſeems to have made a more powerful impreſſion, and he immediately extended the inveſtigation. He found that every variety of calcareous ſpar yielded, on breaking, rhomboidal fragments, and was only diviſible in directions parallel to the ſides of theſe rhomboids; and that, from whichever of the diverſified chryſtals of this ſubſtance the rhomboid was derived, its angles were invariably the ſame. He found that *fluate of lime* yielded, by mechanical diviſion, a nucleus which was invariably a regular octohadron. That from ſulphuret of lead, he always obtained a cube; from ſulphuret of zinc, a dodecahadron; and that from every chryſtal ſuſceptible of mechanical diviſion, a ſolid might be extracted that was common to all the chryſtallized varieties of that ſubſtance. In many caſes, the diviſion was performed with accuracy and facility; the ſurfaces of the ſolid obtained were even, and ſometimes briliant; parallel to its ſides, it was again diviſible with equal eaſe; and ſolids perfectly ſimilar were generated, till they became ſo ſmall as to elude the obſervation of our ſenſes: but every attempt to divide, except in directions parallel to the ſides originally obtained, was ineffectual, or produced only an irregular fracture. He alſo found, that in many inſtances where the attraction of aggregation was ſo powerful as to defy his efforts to extract this nucleus perfect on every ſide, it was ſtill capable of being developed, in certain directions, with ſufficient accuracy to enable him to detect its form, and appreciate its angles.

By a copious and direct induction, he was enabled at laſt to aſcertain this important fact, that every mineral poſſeſſes a *form*, on which all its diverſities of chryſtallization are dependent; ſince this

form,

form, and this only, can be extracted with equal facility from them all, however they may be disguised by apparent dissimilarity. The crystals of minerals not unfrequently presented this form; and all deviations from it appeared to have been produced by the operation of laws that regularly influenced the aggregation of the crystalline particles: and since, after pushing division as far as our senses can follow its effects, we find the form of the solids obtained to be mathematically the same, M. Haüy conceived himself authorised to consider this result as final, or ultimate, in relation to our faculties; and bestowed on the nucleus the denomination of the *integral molecule.*

When the form of the crystal is the same as that of the molecule, each crystal may be considered as an accumulation of molecules, arranged by some species of polarity. But though the external form of the crystal sometimes corresponds with that of the nucleus, it more frequently differs from it, and sometimes so remarkably, that it appears impossible to devise any laws by the operation of which it could be obtained. Though the nature of such laws may remain for ever unknown, yet it is important to trace their effects, and to devise some mode of explaining their operation and results, that may not be at variance with the first principles of the science it is intended to elucidate. Though the hypothesis of *truncations* readily explains almost any appearance, accommodates itself with wonderful flexibility to difficulties, and introduces considerable facility into the expression of even the more complicated crystalline forms, it is obviously inadmissible in any system that aims at an approximation to truth; because it involves an idea of diminution and subtraction, directly contrary to the most established principle of crystallization. It renders it necessary to suppose, that the secondary forms of crystals are generated, by cutting large portions from the surface of a primitive solid. But crystallization never recedes. It produces the secondary forms, not by abstracting any portion of the nucleus, but by accumulating additional molecules on particular parts of it; and on this most important distinction is founded the explication which M. Haüy has devised.

If their arrangement continue undisturbed, additional molecules can only increase the magnitude of the solid. Each one will be deposited in order by the side of another, till their united numbers form a coat extending over one side of the crystal. But if the next coat of molecules, instead of covering the whole plane, leave round the edges the breadth of one molecule uncovered, there will then be placed on the primitive crystal a thin plane, somewhat less in dimensions than the one on which it is superimposed. Let the same law, which ordered this decrease, continue to operate,

rate, and another plane ſtill leſs will be applied to the one already generated. Others will ſucceed, each gradually and ſymmetrically diminiſhing, till they terminate in a ſingle molecule, forming the vertex of a pyramid, elevated, by the influence of this law of decreaſe, upon one of the planes of the original ſolid; and if the ſame law has operated on the other planes, each of them will be crowned with a ſimilar pyramid.

Such would be the operation of a decreaſe, by one row of molecules on the edges of the planes. It may take place on the angles, inſtead of the edges. It is not confined to a decreaſe of one row of molecules only; for the decreaſe may take place, by two or three rows in breadth, and one in height; or by two or three in height, and one in breadth. More than one of theſe laws may operate at the ſame time, in modifying the ſame nucleus; and, after the operation of one has reached a certain extent, it may be ſuſpended, and the ſecondary form of the cryſtal be completed by the action of another. In ſhort, any, or all of theſe laws, may operate at the ſame time, or in ſucceſſion, on the ſides and angles of the ſame nucleus.

Let it not be objected to this theory, that the ſplendid poliſh with which the ſurfaces of cryſtals are frequently adorned, could never reſult from the ſteps with which the decreaſe of the molecules muſt ſurrow their ſides. We muſt not force any analogy between the groſſneſs of our maſonry and the architecture of nature. The molecules, of which cryſtals are compoſed, are, to our ſenſes, infinitely ſmall; and the ſtep, formed by the decreaſe of one, two, or three rows of molecules, muſt be to us imperceptible.

Let it not be objected either that the admiſſion of the laws of decreaſe is unphiloſophical; becauſe, from their variety, from their partial operation, and the facility with which any, or all of them, are reſorted to, they appear capable of deriving any poſſible form from any conceivable nucleus. To this M. Haüy has provided a reply. By an ingenious application of his mathematical ſcience, he has not only calculated the laws, by which the known ſecondary forms of all cryſtals may be generated, but he has demonſtrated, that it is impoſſible, by *any* law of decreaſe, to derive certain ſecondary forms from particular integral molecules; and this demonſtration is the more important, as, in ſeveral inſtances, it precludes the poſſibility of confounding ſubſtances eſſentially different, which the ambiguity of their other external characters might have cauſed to be erroneouſly aſſociated.

Where the induſtry and dexterity of M. Haüy have failed, in mechanically extracting the integral molecule, he has diſcovered its form, by an inverſe operation of the calculations that would

have

have determined the ſecondary forms, had he been put in poſſeſſion of the primitive one. The geometrical propoſitions, by which the accuracy of his deductions is demonſtrated, are given at length by M. Haüy: the particular propoſitions relating to each ſpecies, accompany the deſcriptions of the mineral to which they belong: he has rendered the deſcription of cryſtalline forms ſimple and preciſe, by applying to it ingenious repreſentative ſigns; and he has deviſed a nomenclature, in which almoſt every known cryſtal is diſtinguiſhed by a ſpecific denomination.

It is not from ſo ſhort and imperfect a ſketch, that the merits of a ſyſtem, ſo various in its relations, and ſo complicated in its detail, can be properly appreciated. It appears to us to have enriched mineralogy with the only unerring external character, and to preſent an infallible criterion for determining the mineralogical ſpecies. We need no longer reluctantly rely on the diſcordant reſults of analyſis, nor allow ourſelves to be bewildered by the intermixtures of colour, by indeterminate fracture, or varying ſpecific gravity. We are poſſeſſed of a character impreſſed with mathematical accuracy, which no illuſive appearances can conceal; which our wilfulneſs cannot vary, nor our ignorance miſtake.

Analyſis, locality, and other external or internal characters, enable us to aſſociate to the perfect cryſtal, the abortions of diſturbed cryſtallization, and the amorphous maſſes in which minerals are moſt frequently found. Even here, the laws of cryſtallization frequently apply; and the integral molecule may be extracted by mechanical diviſion, from an apparently unarranged maſs. To the few ſubſtances that are as deſtitute of regularity in their internal ſtructure, as in their external form, the uſual modes of inveſtigation muſt ſtill be applied.

It is in the determination of the *ſpecies*, that the intereſts of philoſophy are moſt concerned. The manner in which they are afterwards grouped into *genera*, or claſſes, is comparatively unimportant; and as its utility wholly conſiſts in directing us where to ſeek for the ſpecies we are in queſt of, it may be ſafely reſigned to the caprice of each fabricator of a ſyſtem, provided its arrangement does not violate any eſtabliſhed law, or militate againſt any acknowledged fact. The impropriety of claſſing minerals ſtrictly, according to the proportions of earths they contain, as determined by analytic experiments, ſeems to be ſufficiently proved by the uncertainty attached to ſuch inveſtigations. The progreſs of ſcience has ſeen minerals repeatedly transferred from one genus to another, to the no ſmall embarraſſment of thoſe whoſe knowledge of a mineral is confined to the relative poſition its name occupies in the columns of the ſyſtem which they honour by their approbation. A ſyſtem which would require

quire talc to be divided into two ſpecies, becauſe it is ſometimes found to be utterly diveſted of the magneſian earth, which, upon other occaſions, is eſteemed its moſt eſſential component, may have been eſtabliſhed in the infancy of ſcience, and continued through deſpair of deviſing one leſs objectionable; but its exiſtence ought to ceaſe with the ignorance which ſanctioned it.

Perfectly aware of the difficulties under which the old diviſion laboured, M. Haüy has diſtributed minerals by a method, the ſimplicity of which leaves it little liable to objection. His firſt claſs conſiſts of the combinations of earths and alkalies with acids. The ſecond claſs conſiſts of the combination of earths with earths; ſometimes united with an alkali. The third claſs conſiſts of combuſtible ſubſtances not metallic. The fourth claſs, of metals, arranged according to their oxidibility and reductibility.

In the deſcription of each ſpecies, after ſtating the name by which he wiſhes it to be diſtinguiſhed, and its ſynonymes, M. Haüy proceeds to conſider its eſſential character, derived from the moſt prominent, unvarying, and definite of its internal and external characters.

In conſidering the geometric character, the primitive form is given, together with the value of its angles. The greater or leſs facility of obtaining the nucleus by mechanical diviſion is ſtated, and the direction of the natural joints is indicated.

He proceeds to examine the phyſical characters, comprehending ſpecific gravity, relative hardneſs, fracture, magnetic and electric relations, refraction, phoſphoreſcence, tenacity, &c.

Its chemical character comprehends the action of the blowpipe, and of acids; and gives the reſults of the analyſis in which the greateſt reliance can be placed.

Theſe compoſe the ſpecific character of each ſubſtance, and are diſtinguiſhed by their invariability, from the diverſity of forms it may exhibit, the colours with which it may be decorated, and the variable degree of its tranſparence.

In inveſtigating the forms which any mineral aſſumes, thoſe which are *determinable* are firſt examined. This term includes all cryſtals capable of geometrical deſcription. Each is diſtinguiſhed by the name which has been deſignated in the nomenclature of cryſtals to repreſent that particular variety; the value of its angles are indicated; and, if the ſtructure is complicated, the neceſſary elucidations are given.

The indeterminable forms are next noticed. They comprehend the reſults of diſturbed or rapid cryſtallization, and all thoſe minerals that are ſtalactitic, globular, granular, or wholly amorphous. The varieties of colour, and degrees of tranſparence, are next at-

tended to. The diſtinctive characters which eſſentially facilitate the examination of minerals, by pointing out wherein they differ from the ſubſtances to which they bear a general reſemblance, are detailed with remarkable perſpicuity and preciſion. Each article is terminated by annotations on the geological relations of the ſubſtance, and obſervations on its utility in medicine, or in the arts.

This rigorous examination of minerals, and inquiry into relations hitherto imperfectly developed, has led M. Haüy to make very important changes in the diſtribution of the ſpecies. Not a few, which appeared with diſtinction in former ſyſtems, are now reduced to varieties; and not a few ſpecies, which appeared too comprehenſive, have been ſubdivided. Many mineralogiſts will ſtart at finding chalcedony, jaſper, hornſtone, and opal, united to the ſpecies of quartz; and will be almoſt equally amazed to find zeolyte ſubdivided into méſotype, ſtillbite, analcime, and chabaſie. It would far exceed our limits, to enter into a diſquiſition on individual alterations; yet it is proper to expreſs our general opinion of their propriety. After recovering from the ſhock occaſioned by the overthrow of our previous aſſociations and prejudices, we have commonly acceded to them; and almoſt always, on extending the inveſtigation, we have enjoyed the ſatisfaction of yielding an unqualified aſſent.

The innovating hand of M. Haüy has not been confined to theſe changes; for his reader will find, that the entire nomenclature of mineralogy has been altered, and that ſcarcely one of his old acquaintances bears the denomination by which it was formerly diſtinguiſhed. Of all the alterations he could poſſibly deviſe, this is the one which muſt prove the moſt intolerable to veteran mineralogiſts. It is moſt offenſive to the ſelf-love of many, to the prejudices of others, and to the indolence of all. The diſcoverers, who have beſtowed ſome favourite denomination on the ſubſtance they have introduced to public notice, and perhaps have given it their own name, or prevailed on their friends to give it, will be not a little irritated to find this child of adoption torn from them, and announced to the public under another appellation, which, to their ears, muſt ſound moſt barbarous. Thoſe whoſe attachment to ſyſtem and eſtabliſhment renders all innovations ſuſpected and diſagreeable, will feel their indignation not a little excited; and all will find it an unpleaſant exertion, to obtain a knowledge of theſe new names, and to acquire the habit of aſſociating them readily with the objects they repreſent. Aware, as M. Haüy muſt have been, of the general diſquiet the change of nomenclature could not fail to produce, he ought to have potent arguments to juſtify his adoption of ſo unpopular an alteration. Let us examine his inducements.

All

All ſyſtem-mongers ſeem to be affected by a troubleſome propenſity to neology, and have erroneouſly imagined that there is as much merit in fabricating a word as in diſcovering a fact. They ſeem to think that the grandeur and novelty of their language may give an aſpect of originality and ſublimity to their hypotheſis; and that the obſcurity in which their phraſeology may involve it, will render it more difficult to aſſail. Frequent failures have not convinced them of the fallacy of theſe ideas; and almoſt every theory, from the phlogiſtic one of Stahl to the tranſcendental one of Kant, has been diſtinguiſhed by an almoſt entire change in the names of the ſubjects to which it related. Theſe changes, however, are ſometimes neceſſary; and the old mineralogical nomenclature will be found to contain numerous inſtances of names that eſſentially needed reform.

The new chemical nomenclature has been ſanctioned by the approbation of all Europe; and it would be abſurd to object to its extenſion to mineralogy, in every inſtance where it could be conſiſtently applied. It is certainly much better to talk of ſulphate of barytes, than of ponderous ſpar; of phoſphate of lime, than of apatite; and of ſulphate of ſtrontites, than of ſchützite, by which the Germans have choſen, with their uſual diſregard of euphony, to diſtinguiſh that mineral. Sulphuret of lead is more intelligible than galæna; phoſphate of lead, than either green or brown lead; and molybdate of lead, than yellow lead ore. Theſe names can only be diſagreeable to thoſe who are ignorant of every thing about a mineral except its mere external appearance, and the appellations by which they have been accuſtomed to diſtinguiſh it; for its chemical name muſt be ſuggeſted by a knowledge of its compoſition.

As far as the adoption of the chemical nomenclature extends, we moſt heartily agree, therefore, with M. Haüy's reform; but there is a very numerous claſs of minerals compoſed of earths combined with earths, with or without a metallic oxide, and with or without an alkali. No modifications of language can deſcribe the compoſition of theſe ſubſtances, without extending the name to an immeaſurable length, and without the greateſt confuſion, from the ſimilarity of compoſition in very different minerals. To ſuch ſubſtances, therefore, a ſpecific denomination muſt be applied; and M. Haüy found ſo many defects in the old nomenclature, that he has almoſt entirely changed it.

Where two minerals were aſſociated, in his ſyſtem, that had formerly been conſidered as diſtinct, it ſometimes was requiſite, to prevent miſtakes, to ſubſtitute one new name in place of the two old ones; and it was abſolutely neceſſary, when a former

ſpecies was ſubdivided, to diſtinguiſh each of the newly conſtituted ſpecies by a particular appellation.

Theſe inſtances, however, are not very numerous; but the mode in which the old nomenclature was generally conſtructed, was thought liable to various objections. Many minerals derived their name from the places in which they were found; and theſe were conſidered as vicious, becauſe, being frequently found in ſituations very remote, ſeveral appellations might, with equal propriety, be given to the ſame ſubſtance. Others were named from their colour, others from radiation, or any other peculiarity in their ſtructure; and theſe again were thought defective, becauſe the diſtinction on which the name was founded, was generally not confined to the ſubſtance which derived its appellation from it. Other names aroſe from ſome fanciful analogy, as the hornblendes, hornſtones, &c.; and theſe required change, becauſe the analogy was vague or unphiloſophical. Some names were rejected becauſe they were unharmonious, and another tribe on account of the monotony of their terminations. Others were more reaſonably objected to, becauſe the ſame names had been uſed in different countries to denote ſubſtances entirely diſſimilar. In ſhort, the grounds of exception were ſo many, and ſo captious, that it is much to be wondered at that any one of the old names ſhould have paſſed the ordeal.

To remedy theſe defects, it was propoſed to deviſe a nomenclature which ſhould deſcribe the ſpecific characteriſtic of the ſubſtance. Where the mineral could not boaſt any very prominent feature, it was thought moſt eligible to give it ſome denomination quite unmeaning, as the name of the diſcoverer, or one derived from ancient mythology. Probably M. Haüy was not acquainted with Gulliver's Travels, or he would have employed a machine ſimilar to that which was uſed with ſo much ſucceſs for compoſing books at Laputa; a contrivance which muſt have been unrivalled in the fabrication of unmeaning names. To theſe inſignificant denominations, however, we can only object, that they are troubleſome and unneceſſary. But M. Haüy has deviſed another mode of deriving names, that appears to us to merit a more ſerious reprobation; for he has made them the vehicle of his geological theories, and has baptized ſeveral minerals according to their ſuppoſed relationſhip to fire or to water. This attempt is equally idle and preſumptuous. We ſhall, in another place, examine the geological opinions of M. Hauy; and, till then, ſhall be contented with this expoſure of his futile endeavours to incorporate them with the more ſubſtantial and ſcientific details of his treatiſe.

M.

M. Haüy obſerves, that ſome exception from the rigour of his principles ſhould be made in favour of ſuch names as have been ſanctioned by very general uſe. To this we have no objection. We only regret that he has ſo much limited the operation of this principle, and that the few inſtances of its exertion have been in favour of ſome of the greateſt nomenclatural delinquents that have appeared before his tribunal. After his indiſcriminate cenſure of all geographical names, how came Strontiane from Strontian, and Yttria from Ytterby, to be allowed to paſs? and, after the juſt reprobation of the word *ſpar*, we are ſurpriſed to ſee feldſpar permitted to occupy a place in the ſyſtem. We cannot fairly object to arragonite, as it only enjoys a reprieve; or to actinote, which exiſts in the ſame precarious manner, with ſmall hopes of tranſmiſſion to a ſecond edition. We may more reaſonably complain, that other names were not equally favoured. The word *augite* appears vaſtly preferable to the fantaſtic, theoretic term, *pyroxene*, which is interpreted, '*hôte ou etranger dans le domaine de feu.*' *Leucite* was perfectly well known to every mineralogiſt, of courſe liable to no ambiguity; and now we ſee its place ſupplied by the word *amphigene*, '*qui a une double origin*,' referring to the laws of its cryſtallization. *Sappare*, a name unmeaning, indeed, but pretty generally received, has, we know not why, been ſupplanted by *diſthene*, '*qui a deux forces*,' obſcurely alluding to its electric qualities. M. Haüy unfortunately found the French language too inflexible to ſecond his exertions, and he was obliged to find names for his foſſils in the inexhauſtible mine of Greek literature. His readers have little cauſe to regret their being expreſſed in a language which, to many of them, is probably inacceſſible; for it is difficult to conceive any thing more ridiculous, than ſome of the ſignifications, which are gravely detailed as characterizing the ſubſtances they are applied to. We find *meionite* '*moindre ou inferieure;*' *pleonaſte* '*qui ſurabonde;*' *amphibole*, '*equivoque ou ambigue;*' *diallage*, '*difference;*' *aplome*, '*ſimplicité;*' and, to ſum up all, *chabaſie*, '*tiré d'un mot grec qui deſignait une certaine eſpece de pierre.*' It is but juſtice to M. Haüy, to obſerve, that for this laſt name he is indebted to the citizen Boſc d'Antic, who deſerves to be immortalized for having deviſed the moſt ſuperlative ſpecimen of nomenclatural abſurdity. It appears obvious from theſe examples, that, even ſuppoſing the objections to the ancient nomenclature were well founded, and the views by which M. Haüy propoſed to guide himſelf in its reformation were correct, he has entirely failed in attaining the objects he propoſed, and disfigured the language of ſcience by numerous barbarous innovations.

Some of theſe remarks may appear to be unneceſſarily ſevere;

but it must be remembered, that the defects of a work, of such sterling merit, are of extensive and formidable operation. Errors which might have passed without observation in an ephemeral production, call for serious reprobation when they appear incorporated with a system which promises to effect a change in the science of which it treats. We should be glad, indeed, that this disagreeable part of our task might terminate with these animadversions; but, however we may admire the sagacity and precision with which M. Haüy has discussed individual species, we cannot yield the same unqualified approbation to his geological speculations. A slight examination of them will convince our readers, that M. Haüy is merely a mineralogist of the cabinet; that he is unacquainted with the magnificent arrangement of mountains; and that, from inexperience, he is incapable of comprehending the vast details of their construction, of developing their relations, and tracing the transitions which form the links of their union.

The geologist who is accustomed to the examination of mountains, who is informed of the variety of structure which is exhibited, and the complexity of gradations that may be traced in examining the grand features of the constituent masses of the earth, will not be a little astonished to find all *rocks* huddled into an appendix. Overpowered by the immensity and novelty of these contemplations, and bewildered by diversities of aspect, M. Haüy has lost sight of the order which pervades the arrangement of mountains; he has perplexed himself with ideal irregularities, and has introduced into his descriptions of rocks, a confusion which only exists in his own ideas. Aware of his own inexperience in this department of the science, M. Haüy solicited the aid of the illustrious Dolomieu, and informs us, that he has been guided by the lights of this sagacious observer. In this part of the work, however, we have found errors and inconsistencies, that cannot possibly be imputed to that eminent geologist, so distinguished for accuracy of observation, and luminous arrangement of facts.

In the examination of their structure, rocks may be divided into simple and aggregate. Simple rocks have generally been considered a species in mineralogical systems, and the components of aggregates have been individually examined. A wish to render all the species he permitted to hold a place in his system, as precise as possible, has induced M. Haüy to reject every thing that appeared ill defined; and, imagining simple rocks to be susceptible of great variety in their composition, he has almost entirely excluded them. It appears to us, that, in some instances, he has allowed this principle to conduct him too far; and that, in others, he has shrunk from the consequences which must have resulted from its rigorous extension. Had this rule been strictly adhered

hered to, limeſtone muſt have been excluded from the ſyſtem, as its contaminations are numerous and variable; yet we find all its combinations admitted, and their compoſition detailed with conſiderable accuracy. Jaſper ought to have been equally rejected; ſince it is only a contamination of quartz, and conſtitutes rocks, as irregular in compoſition, and as much perplexed with tranſitions, as any rock M. Haüy has placed in his appendix. It is difficult to conceive, on what principles theſe have been admitted, when ſerpentine was excluded; eſpecially as M. Haüy expreſsly ſays, it has the ſame relation to talc, that limeſtone has to calcareous ſpar. We find petroſilex in the appendix of ſubſtances imperfectly known, and there it is perhaps properly enough placed; for we believe there is no one ſubſtance whoſe compoſition is more various. The Germans have confounded a variety of quartz with petroſilex, under the name of hornſtone. This aſſociation is moſt improper. The firſt is found in mineral veins, and forming bands, veins, and nodules, in ſecondary limeſtone: it is totally infuſible. The other forms veins and ſtrata in primitive rock, is frequently the baſis of porphyry, and is always more or leſs fuſible. We are obliged to M. Haüy for carefully avoiding to confound theſe ſubſtances, though we are far from agreeing with him in the ſuppoſed identity of petroſilex and compact feldſpar.

We ſearched through the collection of rocks, in vain, for the ſilicious ſchiſtus, or *lapis lydius* of the Germans, which ſeem to have been totally overlooked. To make amends, however, we are preſented with a rock under the denomination of *roche cornéenne*, a name which is perfectly inadmiſſible on the principles of nomenclature laid down by M. Haüy, as it is founded on a vague analogy. We are informed that trap is a variety of this cornéenne; and afterwards we find baſalt conſidered as a lava. The old French mineralogiſts pretended to have diſcovered ſome unintelligible difference between trap and baſalt; but though this is roundly aſſumed in M. Haüy's treatiſe, we are provided with no means of diſtinguiſhing the baſaltic lava from the *cornéenne dure*, or trap, unleſs it be the priſmatic form; on which, it is well known, no dependence can be placed. After the aſſumption of baſalt as lava, we need not be ſurpriſed to find obſidian pearlſtone, and various other ſubſtances, forcibly aſſociated in the ſame claſs. This, however, will not be conceded without a conteſt, which M. Haüy ſeems wholly unprovided with arguments to maintain. Subſtances of ſo dubious a nature ought to have been examined with peculiar care, to detect, if poſſible, ſome latent character which might lead to the determination of their origin. We find them, to our mortification, hurried over with extreme

negligence, without even a notice of their moſt obvious characters. It would ſeem, that the magic word *lava* is conſidered as containing the eſſence of all deſcription. Though ſwelled by ſeveral minerals of at leaſt dubious origin, the catalogue of volcanic ſubſtances is very imperfect. It is followed by a notice of the minerals which it is affirmed are formed in lava ſubſequent to its cooling. This catalogue is alſo imperfect in extent; and the very principle on which it is founded is objectionable, as ſeveral of theſe ſubſtances are diſcovered in the more recent lavas immediately after their eruption.

It appears unneceſſary to extend theſe obſervations any farther. We conceive, the inſtances we have adduced will warrant us in aſſerting, that this portion of M. Haüy's valuable work falls far below the general tenor of its excellence. The diviſions of rocks are arbitrary and indiſtinct; the deſcriptions are imperfect; and the theoretic aſſumptions very frequently unwarranted. The candour of M. Haüy, however, we are perſuaded, will prevent him from being mortified by our obſervations; for in this part of his ſubject he does not pretend to excel. His dexterity in mechanical diviſion can here no longer avail him; and he is even precluded from drawing benefit from his mathematical ſcience. He has generally riſked his well-earned reputation, to render his treatiſe more complete; and we feel grateful for his efforts, even while we criticiſe what appears to us their erroneous direction.

At the ſame time that we have endeavoured to expoſe his apparent errors and inconſiſtencies, we gladly expreſs our admiration of his various merits, of the genius which has inſpired his performance, and the indefatigable exertions which have realized his ſcientific views. His ſtyle is invariably elegant and perſpicuous, his arrangement luminous, and his illuſtrations ample. The candour and philoſophic moderation which is maintained through the whole work, reflect an additional luſtre on the talents and induſtry of the author. We cannot cloſe the article, without beſtowing juſt praiſe on the ſubordinate embelliſhments. The work is extremely well printed, and the volume of plates is executed in a very ſuperior manner.

Art. IV. *The Works of Richard Owen Cambridge, Eſq. including ſeveral Pieces never before publiſhed: With an Account of his Life and Character.* By his Son, George Owen Cambridge, M. A. Prebendary of Ely. London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, and T. Payne. 4to. 1803.

This is one of the many luxuries and ſuperfluities of modern literature; a book which we are glad to have, but could have

have done very well without; containing nothing very new, or ſtriking, or important; but innocent upon the whole, and reſpectable, and affording a very laudable recreation for thoſe whoſe curioſity is rather the deſire of amuſement, than of knowledge.

Mr Cambridge ſeems to have been one of thoſe perſons, of whom poverty would have made a very popular author; but, being unfortunately born to a conſiderable fortune, and having gained admiſſion to a very large and diſtinguiſhed circle of ſociety, he found that he could paſs his time more agreeably than in preparing volumes for the preſs; and lived a long time in perfect health and tranquillity, without exerciſing his genius in any thing of greater magnitude than a few periodical papers, and ſome occaſional little poems and diſſertations. He was one of thoſe characters, in ſhort, that ſeem deſtined rather to delight their contemporaries, than to attract the admiration of poſterity. With the happieſt temper, and the moſt amiable manners, Mr Cambridge appears to have united the refined wit and acccompliſhments of a gentleman, to the learning and information of a ſcholar, and to have been contented with the pleaſure and the reputation that he derived from the colloquial diſplay of his various talents and information. His biographer, indeed, has informed us, that 'he was remarkably exempt from thoſe paſſions which uſually incline men to exchange domeſtic enjoyments for the toil of public buſineſs; that his love of fame was limited to a deſire of being reſpected and beloved by thoſe in whoſe ſociety he wiſhed to live; and that his natural diſpoſition and talents were peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of polite literature, and the charms of familiar converſation.'

Such men, though extremely reſpectable and praiſeworthy, and though their multiplication may, indeed, be conſidered as the beſt indication of a refined and enlightened ſtate of ſociety, generally receive their whole portion of fame in their life, and but ſeldom obtain any reverſion of poſthumous celebrity. Few are ſo fortunate as to have their ſcattered pieces collected into a handſome quarto, and to have their lives and characters tranſmitted to poſterity by a biograher who joins perfect candour and information to the amiable partiality of affection. The incidents of Mr Cambridge's life are, as might have been expected, neither numerous nor extraordinary; and they are not commemorated as ſuch by his biographer. The only thing that provoked a ſmile in the whole narrative, was to find it carefully recorded, that 'when every neceſſary arrangement was made for Mr Cambridge ſetting out on his travels, he was ſtopped *by the hard froſt* of the year 1739, and his plan was never reſumed.' As to the reſt of his hiſtory, it is very ſhort and barren of incident.

dent. He was educated at Eton, where he acted plays in Latin and Engliſh; and at Oxford, which he left without a degree. He entered the Society of Lincolns Inn, but was never called to the Bar. After his marriage, he reſided in Glouceſterſhire, where he wrote the Scribleriad, built boats upon the Severn, and adorned his eſtate with plantations. He afterwards removed to Twickenham, where he continued to reſide, till death put a period to a life that extended through no leſs than eighty-ſix years of innocence and enjoyment. He rode a great deal on horſeback, drank water, and was remarkable for uninterrupted and equal cheerfulneſs, great urbanity of manners, and the utmoſt tenderneſs and indulgence to his family. He lived in great intimacy with all the literary characters of the age, and ſeems to have been univerſally beloved and reſpected as a delightful companion, and a man entitled to diſtinction both for his talents and his virtues.

The pieces contained in this volume, are chiefly republications of thoſe compoſitions which appeared in Mr Cambridge's own life. His principal performances were, the Scribleriad, which was publiſhed in 1751, and 'the hiſtory of the war on the coaſt of Coromandel,' which appeared in 1761. The former of theſe works is reprinted in this compilation, of which it occupies about one half: the other is omitted. The reſt of the volume is made up of little poetical pieces, chiefly playful and ſatirical, and of about twenty papers publiſhed in the 'World,' and fully as remarkable for politeneſs and vivacity, as any that appeared in that popular publication.

It would be abſurd in us to enter into any criticiſm upon works which have been publiſhed for more than half a century. The Scribleriad was read, at one time, by all the polite ſcholars in the country, but never found its way to popularity, and is now almoſt entirely forgotten. It is a continuation of the adventures of Scriblerus, in the form of a mock heroic poem, and is written throughout with great learning, elegance, and judgement. The ſubject, however, is by no means intereſting; and the compoſition has a certain uniform mediocrity of merit, that is uſually found to ſink faſter in the ſtream of time, than ſubſtances of a more unequal contexture. 'The hiſtory of the Coromandel war' is ſimply and clearly written, though the ſubſequent publication of Mr Dowe's work has, in a great degree, ſuperſeded the uſe of it. There is a pleaſing anecdote with reſpect to this publication, in a note to the account of Mr Cambridge's life.

'M. Lally Tolendal, the ſon of M. Lally who commanded the French force in India in the war of 1756, happening to meet my father at a friend's houſe, eagerly inquired if he was the author of a work

work relative to India; and being anſwered in the affirmative, ſprung forward and embraced him with great emotion, apologizing for this liberty, by aſſuring him, that he was under more obligation to him than to any man living; for that his work had been of greater ſervice than all the other documents he could procure, towards redeeming his father's honour, and recovering his property; owing to the clear and intelligent detail it contained of the tranſactions on the coaſt of Coromandel, in which M. Lally bore ſo principal a ſhare, and to the juſt repreſentation it gave of the conduct of the French in that quarter.' p. liii.

Of the ſmaller pieces, there are ſome imitations of Horace executed with a good deal of point and vivacity, and ſome elegies and epiſtles in a very pleaſing ſtyle of compoſition. The reſt are mere *vers de ſocieté*. We add the two following parodies, which have the merit, we think, of being very ludicrous.

'Occaſioned by the Author hearing of a Clergyman, who, in a violent fit of Anger, threw his Wig into the Fire, and turned his Son out of Doors.

" Now by this ſacred periwig I ſwear,
Which never more ſhall locks or ringlets bear,
Which never more ſhall form the ſmart toupee,
Forced from its parent head,—(as thou from me);
Once 'twas live hair; now form'd by th' artiſt's hand,
It aids the labours of the ſacred band;
Adds to the Vicar's brow a decent grace,
And pours a glory round his rev'rend face.
By this I ſwear, when thou ſhalt aſk again
My doors to enter, thou ſhalt aſk in vain."
'He ſpoke; and furious with indignant ire,
Hurl'd the vaſt hairy texture on the fire;
Then ſternly ſilent ſate—the active flame
Remorſeleſs waſtes the ſoft and tender frame:
Writhed to and fro conſumes the tortured hair,
And, loſt in ſmoke, attenuates to air.' p. 332. 333.

'On meeting at Mr Garrick's an Author very ſhabbily dreſt in an old Velvet Waiſtcoat, on which he had ſewed Embroidery of a later date.

'Three waiſtcoats in three diſtant ages born,
The bard with faded luſtre did adorn.
The firſt in velvet's figured pride ſurpaſt;
The next in 'broidery; in both the laſt.
His purſe and fancy could no further go;
To make a third he joined the former two.' p. 350.

Upon the whole, this is a book which the rich will do well to buy, and the poor may be very well contented to want. It

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is very handſomely printed, and is embelliſhed with about a dozen portraits of the author's celebrated friends, and two views of his places of reſidence.

ART. V. *Publii Virgilii Maronis Opera; ad lectiones probatiores diligenter emendata, et interpunctione nova ſæpius illuſtrata.* Cura Joannis Hunter, LL.D. in Academia Andreapolitana Litt. Hum. Prof. Andreapoli. 12mo. 1800.

A CRITICAL edition of a claſſical author from a Scotiſh preſs, is ſo very rare an occurrence, that we ſhould be inclined to take ſome notice of this book, even if its intrinſic merits did not entitle it to our attention. The taſk of an editor, however, we are ſorry to ſay, does not appear to afford any great encouragement to the perſeverance of thoſe who have already proved their qualifications for the diſcharge of it. It is now ſeveral years ſince Dr Hunter preſented the public with a very correct and valuable edition of Horace, in which a variety of emendations on the text and punctuation were ſupported and illuſtrated by the addition of *notulæ quædam et variantes lectiones*. Virgil, however, now comes out without any notes or various readings whatſoever. The text is reprinted almoſt exactly from the ſecond edition of Profeſſor Heyné; and the only critical obſervations which the volume contains, are preſented all together in a ſhort preface, which every reader, we believe, has wiſhed longer.

It is not only the great merit of moſt of theſe remarks that makes us anxious for ſomething of a more detailed annotation from the ſame hand, but an intimation which Dr Hunter himſelf gives in the outſet, that he has adhered to the reading of Heyné in ſeveral places, where he could not help having conſiderable doubts of its propriety, through his unwillingneſs to ſet up conjectural emendations againſt manuſcript authority. This is undoubtedly a very laudable diffidence, in ſo far as the *text* is concerned; but from what we have ſeen of Dr Hunter's obſervations, we are perſuaded that thoſe conjectures which are now altogether ſuppreſſed, would have afforded matter for many very excellent and inſtructive notes; and we cannot help regretting, that he ſhould have been prevented, by any circumſtances, from ſubmitting them to the conſideration of the public.

The preface, which may be conſidered as a ſpecimen of Dr Hunter's talents for annotation, contains a conſiderable number of very intereſting diſcuſſions. We ſhall mention a few inſtances.

In

In the twelfth Æneid, Æneas is described, after his wound, in the following lines, which stood thus in all the editions previous to that of Heinsius.

'Stabat acerba fremens, ingentem nixus in hastam,
Æneas, magno juvenum et mœrentis Iuli
Concursu lacrimisque immobilis.

Now this, which is the reading of almost all the manuscripts, is undoubtedly the right reading according to Dr Hunter. The meaning is, that he remained unmoved *juvenum concursu et lacrimis Iuli*. Heinsius, however, who does not appear to have understood this form of construction, took it upon him to expunge the *que* after *lacrimis*, and to perplex the whole passage by a wrong punctuation. Both Burman and Heyné have followed this erroneous correction; and the passage stands thus in all the recent editions.

'Stabat acerba fremens, ingentem nixus in hastam,
Æneas, magno juvenum et mœrentis Iuli
Concursu, lacrimis immobilis.'

In order to confirm his own and the ancient reading of this passage, Dr Hunter here takes occasion to observe, that it is not at all uncommon for the best writers to enumerate together, a number of things that have each some separate and peculiar relative, or appropriate adjunct, and then to subjoin all the relatives and adjuncts in a separate list, leaving the reader to pick out and assort all the connected words, from their obvious sense and connexion. In Virgil, he observes, there are many examples of this, as—

'Munera portantes, *aurique eborisque talenta*
Et sellam.'

That is, *talenta auri, et sellam eboris*. In the same way—

'Idæumque Jovem, Phrygiamque ex ordine matrem
Invocat, et *duplices cæloque ereboque parentes.*'

The same peculiarity of construction occurs in this passage of Livy—'Irreligiosum ratus, *sacerdotes* publicos *sacra*que populi Romani *pedibus ire ferrique*;' that is, *pedibus sacerdotes ire, et sacra ferri*. In Homer, also, this arrangement is very common.

Ἐνθαδ' ἀμ' οἰμωγή τε καὶ ἰυχμὴ πίλιν ἀνδρῶν,
Ὀλλυντῶν τε, καὶ ὀλλυμένων.

The meaning is evidently, ἰυχμὴ ὀλλυντων, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ὀλλυμενων. In English poetry, the same construction is quite familiar. In the notorious translation of Sappho—

'Blest as the immortal gods is he,
The youth who fondly sits by thee,
And *hears* and *sees* thee, all the while,
Softly *speak* and sweetly *smile.*'

Pope

Pope alſo ſays—

' Annual, for me, the *grape* and *roſe* renew
The *juice nectareous* and the *balmy dew.* '

In theſe inſtances, no ambiguity or confuſion appears to ariſe from the disjoined poſition of the correſponding words; and we perfectly agree with Dr Hunter in thinking, that the paſſage which Heinſius and Heyné thought it neceſſary to alter, is infinitely more intelligible and graceful, according to the old reading, and upon this view of the conſtruction. At the ſame time, we may obſerve, that this diſlocation of the aſſociated words becomes faulty and ungraceful, whenever the number of ſeparate objects, thus enumerated together, is ſo great as to produce any degree of confuſion. We do not remember that any of the ancient claſſics have ever employed it where more than two things were taken together. Shakeſpeare, however, in the following verſe, has uſed ſomething of a larger licenſe.

' The courtiers, ſcholars, ſoldiers, eye, tongue, ſword. '

And Milton, upon another occaſion, has gone ſtill farther—

————' So eagerly the fiend
O'er bog, or ſteep, thro' ſtrait, rough, denſe, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet, purſues his way,
And ſwims, or ſinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies. '

In ſuch paſſages, the crowd and hurry of the primary objects is ſo great, that when we meet the relative ſecondary one, it is almoſt impoſſible to determine to which it ſhould be referred. When ſo many couples, in ſhort, are mingled together in diſorder, it is quite impoſſible, at one glance of the eye, to aſſign to each word its proper partner.

In the Fourth Æneid, Dr Hunter has made a very ingenious obſervation on a paſſage that has perplexed all the commentators from Bentley to Heyné. It is that where, after comparing Mercury to a bird ſkimming along the water, the poet ſays,

' Haud aliter terras inter coelumque volabat;
Littus arenoſum Libyæ ventoſque ſecabat
Materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles. '

Bentley, holding the phraſe ' ſecare littus ' to be abſurd, is for ſubſtituting *legebat* in the firſt line. Dr Hunter, however, retains the common reading, upon the authority of all the MSS.; and, merely taking away the point at the end of the firſt line, reads, ' *Volabat littus arenoſum Libyæ.* ' In juſtification of this conſtruction, he obſerves, that it is by no means unuſual for an intranſitive verb to aſſume, in ſome degree, the power and activity of a tranſitive; in which caſe, it admits the ſame ſyntax, and acquires the

ſame

ſame power of government. Thus, Virgil himſelf has uſed and conſtrued the verb *trepidare*.

> ' *Multa* manu medica, Phœbique potentibus herbis,
> Nequidquam *trepidat*.'

Ardere, in like manner, takes an active form in ' formoſus paſtor Corydon ardebat Alexin:' and Horace has ' exſudare cauſas.' Although we do not recollect any inſtance in which *volare* is conſtrued in this manner by any of the poetical claſſics of antiquity, it is remarkable that Servius has employed it in this way in his commentary upon the word *velivolus*, which, he ſays, ſignifies either *id quod* velis volatur *ſeu tranſitur*, or *quod velis fertur*. Virgil himſelf, we may finally remark, has uſed the phraſe, ' cava trabe *currimus æquor*.' Now, if it be allowable to ſay, ' currere æquor,' we certainly do not ſee why it ſhould be thought inconſiſtent to ſay ' volare littus.'

In the Fifth Book, the common editions read,

> ' Tum ſenior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas
> Quem docuit, multaque inſignem reddidit arte,
> *Hæc* reſponſa dabat, vel quæ portenderet ira
> Magna deûm, vel quæ fatorum poſceret ordo;
> Iſque his Æneas ſolatus vocibus inſit.'

Dr Hunter reads *hic* in the third line, underſtanding thoſe verſes as a kind of parenthetical deſcription of the prophet; and, we think, rightly. There is no form of conſtruction more common, than this reſuming of the nominative caſe after the ſentence appears to be proceeding to ſomething elſe. Nay, there are many inſtances in which an object is firſt introduced, in ſome of the oblique caſes, in the courſe of conſtruction; and then the nominative is reſumed, without regard to that conſtruction, for the purpoſe of ſtating or expounding ſome circumſtance attending it. Thus, in the Tenth Book of the Æneid, we have

> ' ———rapiens immania pondera baltei,
> Impreſſumque nefas—'

all in the accuſative; but the farther deſcription of the *nefas* is given, without any interval, in the nominative:

> ' ————una ſub nocte jugali
> *Caeſa manus* juvenum foede, *thalamique cruenti*.'

Ariſtotle, in the following paſſage of his Rhetoric, has uſed the ſame conſtruction: Αναγκη αγαθα ειναι ταδε, in the accuſative; and, immediately after, ευδαιμονια, δικαιοσυνη, ανδρεια, &c. We ſhall be the more readily excuſed by our claſſical readers for enlarging upon this minute particularity of ſyntax, when we ſtate, that a learned

learned Professor of Germany has actually taken upon him to alter a whole passage in Xenophon's *Apologia Socratis*, from ignorance of its existence. The words in all the MSS. and printed copies stand as follows; and, from what has been already said, it is evident they stand in need of no emendation:

—ἐφ' οις γε μην ἐργοις κειται θανατος και ζημια, ἱεροσυλιαι, τοιχωρυχιαι, ανδραποδισις, πολεως προδοσια, ἁ δ' αυτοι οἱ αντιδικοι τυτων πραξαι τι κατ' ἐμε φασιν. Ap. Soc. § 25.

Now, Professor Zeunius, of Wittemberg, in his edition of this part of Xenophon's works, has deliberately turned all these nominatives into datives, that they might agree with ἐργοις in the beginning; and applauds himself very much for the correction; observing, 'vulgari lectione nihil ineptius fingi potest.' Such is still the diffidence of these reformers!

Upon the subject of punctuation, Dr Hunter refers, in his Preface, to the following passage of the First Georgic, which stands thus in Professor Heyné's, and the greater part of the earlier editions:

'Semina vidi quidem multos medicare serentes,
Et nitro prius et nigra perfundere amurca;
Grandior ut fetus siliquis fallacibus esset:
Et, quamvis igni exiguo properata maderent,
Vidi lecta, diu et multo spectata labore,
Degenerare tamen, ni vis humana quotannis
Maxima quæque manu legeret.'

The fourth line of this passage, which, by this punctuation, is connected with the latter clause of the sentence, has given infinite trouble to the commentators. A verbal critic may indeed be excused for being ignorant of the mysteries of agriculture; but it is scarcely possible to repress a smile, when Professor Heyné gravely informs us that beans, which have been boiled till they are soft, will grow faster than any other. Dr Hunter removes all this perplexity, by taking away the point from the end of the third line, and putting a full stop at the end of the fourth. When this puzzling verse is connected, in this way, with the three preceding ones, the meaning turns out to be, simply, that beans are thought to require less boiling if the seeds from which they were produced had been sprinkled with nitre before sowing. This interpretation, which the new pointing suggests most obviously, is confirmed, in a very singular way, by a passage in Palladius, which seems to have escaped the notice of Professor Heyné and all the other commentators. This writer, without any allusion to Virgil, says expressly, 'Græci afferunt fabæ semina nitratâ aquâ respersa, coctu*ram* non habere difficilem.'

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We look upon this as a very happy and ſatisfactory explication of a paſſage, which Brunckius thought it neceſſary to interpolate, before he could make any ſenſe of it whatſoever.

The punctuation of this edition, indeed, ſo far as we have examined it, appears to be peculiarly judicious and correct. There is only one paſſage in which we ſuſpect it to be inaccurate. We allude to theſe lines, towards the end of the Third Book of the Æneid:

> ' Præcipites metus acer agit quocumque rudentis
> Excutere, et ventis intendere vela ſecundis.
> Contra juſſa monent Heleni, Scyllam atque Charybdim
> Inter utramque viam, leti diſcrimine parvo,
> Ni teneant curſus: certum eſt dare lintea retro.'

The whole of this paſſage, we think, is full of difficulty; and it is one of thoſe upon which we expected ſome elucidation from Dr Hunter: but, without pretending to reconcile all the parts of it, we are very clearly of opinion, that there ought to have been a comma after *contra* in the third line, as *juſſa* ſeems evidently to be the nominative of the ſubſequent verb *monent*, and not in conſtruction with *contra* as a prepoſition.

In the cloſe of his Preface, Dr Hunter has introduced, perhaps not quite regularly, nor by any very obvious connexion, a ſhort diſſertation on the ancient form of the genitive caſe, which he conceives to have terminated, originally, in all the declenſions in *is*. As a ſpecimen of his acuteneſs and latinity, we ſhall ſubjoin this paſſage in the original.

' Genetivus in -I, nominum in -ES deſinentium, in Virgilio frequens eſt; in cujus rei rationem indagandam viri docti, Heynius et Heinſius, fruſtra operam ſuam inſumſerunt, parum aut nihil proficientes. Itaque genitivi formam antiquiſſimam, unde omnes deinceps aliæ quæ in uſu ſunt, levibus admodum mutationibus, gradatim provenerunt, rem Grammaticis, tam veteribus, quam recentioribus, adhuc intactam, paucis indicare operæ pretium erit. Hæc igitur genitivi forma antiquiſſima, quam declinatio tertia adhuc plerumque ſervat, definebat in -IS; ut *aura*, *aura*-IS; *animos*, *animo*-IS; *labor*, (olim *labors*) *labor*-IS; *fructus*, *fructu*-IS; *dies*, *die*-IS. Poſtea vel duæ vocales in unam ſyllabam coïbant, vel s elidebatur, vel denique utrumque ſimul. Ita, ex *aura*-IS factum eſt vel *aur*-AS, ut *paterfamili*-AS, vel *aura*-I, et poſtremo *aur*-AE, quod enunciatum videtur *aur*-AI: ex *animo*-IS, eliſo s, *anim*-OI, quod eſt *anim*-I, ut, in plurali etiam numero, ex ανεμ-OI et ανεμ-OIΣ facta ſunt *anim*-I et *anim*-IS. In declinatione tertia s plerumque retinetur; interdum, ut in *Achill*-I, *Oront*-I, &c. eliditur. In quarta *cornu* facit vel *corn*-US, contractum pro *cornu*-IS; vel, abſque s, *corn*-U, contractum pro *cornu*-I. Eodem modo ex *die*-IS factum vel *di*-ES, (vid. A. GELL. ix. 14.) vel *die*-I; et, poſtremo, vel *di*-I, vel *di*-E, prout vocalis vel prior, vel poſte-

rior, ab altera abſorpta fuerit. Uniuſcujuſque autem formæ exempla, præter *-āis*, *-oïs*, et *-ēis*, quarum, quod ſciam, exempla non extant, ex Ruddimanno, aut Voſſio, petenda relinquimus; hic enim de hac re fuſius agere non patitur inſtituti noſtri ratio.'

The theory contained in this paſſage appears to us to be at leaſt very probable. All languages are naturally quite regular and uniform in their ſtructure. The idea of relation, denoted by the genitive caſe, would therefore be expreſſed, it is moſt probable, in every word, by the ſame adjunct or variation; and, where varieties exiſt that cannot be referred to the intermixture of another language, it is moſt reaſonable to aſcribe them to ſome ſuch proceſs of abbreviation as Dr Hunter has indicated in the foregoing paſſage. There is one form of the genitive, however, which he has omitted to ſpecify, or account for: we mean the termination of Achillei and Ulixei, which occur five or ſix times in the writings of Horace. It ſeems eaſy, however, to reduce this alſo under the ſyſtem of Dr Hunter. The original genitive was Achille-*ïs*, which, with the *s* dropt from the end, gave Achille-ï, afterwards contracted into one ſyllable, Achillei. This is ſometimes Latin by the editors of Horace (as in Epiſt. lib. I. 6. v. 65. and I. 7. v. 40.) Achilli: the *i* long being the general repreſentative of thoſe dipthongs of which it originally formed a part; δεικω forming *dico*, in this way, and ανημους, *animis*. The ancient Latins, indeed, appear to have had a great partiality for this vowel, as they have made it the common ſubſtitute for *o* alſo, in words derived from the Greek. Απολλονος, in this way, becomes Apollīnis; λεγομες is changed into legimus; and, according to Dr Hunter, all the Greek genitives in ος into the correſponding Latin termination of *is*.

Upon the whole, we can ſafely recommend this as one of the moſt correct editions of Virgil that has yet been offered to the public. We do not know, indeed, that it contains a ſingle typographical error; and in the reading and punctuation of the text, it is ſufficient to ſay, that Profeſſor Heyne has publicly declared it to be ſuperior to any that he had previouſly examined. We cannot conclude, however, without again expreſſing our regret that Dr Hunter did not find it convenient to add to its value, by a more copious collection of thoſe critical remarks, of which his Preface contains ſo favourable a ſpecimen.

ART.

ART. VI. *Modern Geography, a Deſcription of the Empires, Kingdoms, States, and Colonies, with the Oceans, Seas, and Iſles, in all parts of the World: including the moſt recent Diſcoveries, and political Alterations.* Digeſted on a new plan, by John Pinkerton. The aſtronomical introduction by the Rev. S. Vince, A. M. F. R. S. and Plumian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Cambridge. With maps, drawn under the direction, and with the lateſt improvements, of Arrowſmith, and engraved by Lowrie. To the whole is added, a catalogue of the beſt maps, and books of travels and voyages, in all languages. London: Cadell & Davies, and Longman & Rees. 2 vol. 4to. about 1600 pages; and abridged, 8vo. 700 pages.

THERE is no ſcience ſo attractive as geography. It requires ſcarcely any preparation of previous ſtudy; and deals in a ſort of information ſo popular and various, as to recommend itſelf even to thoſe who have but little reliſh for literary occupations. It is indeed a kind of condenſation of books of travels, and exhibits the moſt captivating collection of marvellous truths that ever yet were aſſembled, to excite or to gratify curioſity. Of its ſubſtantial utility, it is unneceſſary to ſpeak. In this country, it is conſidered as a neceſſary part of the moſt common education; the elements of it are taught in our pariſh ſchools; and, accordingly, there are ſcarcely any, except thoſe in the loweſt ranks of ſociety, who are not acquainted with the relative poſition, diſtance, and comparative ſize and advantages of moſt of the nations of Europe; with the names and ſituation of ſome of their principal cities, mountains, rivers, &c.; with their natural productions, and the principal articles of their manufactures and commerce:—and to whom, thoſe parts of the other quarters of the globe, where their own nation has ſettlements or trade, are totally unknown. On the Continent, however, the caſe is remarkably different. There, particularly in France, it is not uncommon to meet with perſons who have had a liberal education, and who diſcover conſiderable information on other ſubjects, profoundly and laughably ignorant of countries adjoining to their own, cloſely connected with it in the annals of hiſtory, or allied in commerce or friendſhip. It is not ſurpriſing, therefore, that the continental writers ſhould have produced but few ſyſtematic works on geography. If we except d'Anville, there is ſcarcely one name, in this department of ſcience, of which they are entitled to boaſt. The French works of La Croix, &c. are too brief, and by no means adequate to convey that portion of geographical knowledge which will reſcue that nation from the charge of comparative ignorance. The German works of Buſch-

ing, Fabri, Ebeling, &c. are dull and taſteleſs, and executed too much in the manner of the country in which they appeared, to render the ſtudy of geography eaſy, uſeful, or intereſting. In this country, we have long been poſſeſſed of geographical grammars: moſt of them indeed differ little more than in name: they have all adopted the ſame plan; purſued the ſame arrangement; and even copied mutually their miſtakes and errors. While many eſſential and highly uſeful parts of geography are omitted, or careleſsly and imperfectly treated, their pages are filled with a detail of events and circumſtances totally unconnected with that ſcience: they ſeem to have forgotten what the term *Geography* means and comprehends. We ſhall in vain look in them for an account and deſcription of the different productions of the earth; of the varied or peculiar appearances of its ſurface; or even for accurate and ſcientific information reſpecting the boundaries and extent of the different countries. On the contrary, we ſhould be inclined, from the peruſal of theſe works, to conclude, that they contained a meagre and ill-digeſted *hiſtory of the world*, interſperſed with a few incidental patches of geographical information. So little ſkill has been exerciſed in forming the plan, and arranging the materials of theſe grammars, that every addition that ſucceſſively ſuggeſts itſelf is inſerted in the moſt clumſy and careleſs manner; and, not unfrequently, the information given in one part, is directly oppoſite to that which we receive from another.

We have ſtated the defects of theſe ſyſtems the more fully, becauſe we cannot characteriſe the modern geography of Mr Pinkerton more preciſely, and at the ſame time more juſtly, than by ſtating it to be free from theſe defects. The former writings of this gentleman, and the whole courſe of his reading and ſtudies, had qualified him for the neceſſary, but inglorious drudgery of laborious compilation. The maps, charts, and books, which he muſt not only have conſulted, but ſtudied and compared, before ſuch a fund of materials could have been collected, muſt have been very numerous. No expence appears to have been grudged; no pains or labour, however conſtant or tedious, to have been ſpared, in order to render the work a complete ſyſtem of modern geography, according to the plan which, after mature deliberation, the editor thought proper to adopt. According to this plan,

—'objects moſt eſſentially allied with each other, inſtead of being diſperſed as fragments, are here gathered into diſtinct heads or chapters, arranged in uniform progreſs, except where particular circumſtances commanded a deviation: and inſtead of pretended hiſtories and prolix commercial documents, the chief attention is devoted to objects ſtrictly

ſtrictly geographical, but which, in preceding ſyſtems, have often appeared in the form of a mere liſt of names, the evaneſcent ſhades of knowledge.'

In the preliminary obſervations, Mr Pinkerton enumerates the order of the topics diſcuſſed:

'1. The hiſtorical or progreſſive geography of each country. 2. Its political ſtate; including moſt of the topics which recent German writers, by a term of dubious purity, call ſtatiſtic. 3. The civil geography, including objects not ſo immediately connected with the government, as an account of the chief cities, towns, &c. 4. The natural geography.'

To the four grand diviſions of the world he has added a fifth, which he names Auſtralaſia and Polyneſia, including New-Holland, and the lately diſcovered iſlands in the Pacific Ocean. He has arranged the ſtates of Europe in three diviſions, according to their real conſequence, as of the firſt, ſecond, or third order; and each is treated at a length proportioned to its weight in the political ſcale, and the conſequent intereſt which it inſpires. According to this arrangement, Turkey is ranked in the firſt order: 'It cannot ſo juſtly be reduced to the ſecond order; for though perhaps approaching its fall, ſtill it boaſts the name and weight of an empire.' But certainly it ought to have taken its ſtation, according to its comparative rank and influence, and its preſent and real conſequence; and not according to its former, and now merely nominal dignity.

The general deſcription of Europe is clear, accurate, and full. There are, however, two aſſertions, of which no evidence is offered; and which we are inclined to think are erroneous. In enumerating the tribes from which Europe derived its firſt population, Mr Pinkerton conſiders the Sarmatians as diſtinct from the Goths and Scythians; and as the ſame with the Slavi, the anceſtors of the Ruſſians, Poles, &c. In the review of 'A Vindication of the Celts,' we mentioned it as our opinion, that according to the teſtimony of the moſt ancient and beſt informed Greek authors, the Sarmatians were deſcended from the Scythians; and a more cloſe examination of thoſe authors has completely eſtabliſhed our belief in that opinion. It is, we know, generally believed, that the Sarmatæ and the Slavi are the ſame: the latter, however, cannot be the ſame with the people anciently called Sarmatæ, as their perſons, manners, religion and language are totally diſtinct: and we are not acquainted with any evidence, which proves even that the Sarmatæ of the later claſſical authors, and the Slavi, are identical. The other opinion of Mr Pinkerton is very ſingular, and appears to have been formed altogether by

learned Professor of Germany has actually taken upon him to alter a whole passage in Xenophon's *Apologia Socratis*, from ignorance of its existence. The words in all the MSS. and printed copies stand as follows; and, from what has been already said, it is evident they stand in need of no emendation:

—ἐφ' οἷς γε μὴν ἐργοις κεῖται θάνατος καὶ ζημία, ἱεροσυλίαι, τοῖχωρυχίαι, ἀνδραποδίσεις, πόλεως προδοσία, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ οἱ αἰτιδικοι τουτων πραξαι τι κατ' ἐμὴ φασιν. Ap. Soc. § 25.

Now, Professor Zeunius, of Wittemberg, in his edition of this part of Xenophon's works, has deliberately turned all these nominatives into datives, that they might agree with ἐργοις in the beginning; and applauds himself very much for the correction; observing, 'vulgari lectione nihil ineptius fingi potest.' Such is still the diffidence of these reformers!

Upon the subject of punctuation, Dr Hunter refers, in his Preface, to the following passage of the First Georgic, which stands thus in Professor Heyné's, and the greater part of the earlier editions:

> 'Semina vidi quidem multos medicare serentes,
> Et nitro prius et nigra perfundere amurca;
> Grandior ut fetus siliquis fallacibus esset:
> Et, quamvis igni exiguo properata maderent,
> Vidi lecta, diu et multo spectata labore,
> Degenerare tamen, ni vis humana quotannis
> Maxima quæque manu legeret.'

The fourth line of this passage, which, by this punctuation, is connected with the latter clause of the sentence, has given infinite trouble to the commentators. A verbal critic may indeed be excused for being ignorant of the mysteries of agriculture; but it is scarcely possible to repress a smile, when Professor Heyné gravely informs us that beans, which have been boiled till they are soft, will grow faster than any other. Dr. Hunter removes all this perplexity, by taking away the point from the end of the third line, and putting a full stop at the end of the fourth. When this puzzling verse is connected, in this way, with the three preceding ones, the meaning turns out to be, simply, that beans are thought to require less boiling if the seeds from which they were produced had been sprinkled with nitre before sowing. This interpretation, which the new pointing suggests most obviously, is confirmed, in a very singular way, by a passage in Palladius, which seems to have escaped the notice of Professor Heyné and all the other commentators. This writer, without any allusion to Virgil, says expressly, 'Græci asserunt fabæ semina nitratâ aquâ respersa, cocturam non habere difficilem.'

We look upon this as a very happy and satisfactory explication of a passage, which Brunckius thought it necessary to interpolate, before he could make any sense of it whatsoever.

The punctuation of this edition, indeed, so far as we have examined it, appears to be peculiarly judicious and correct. There is only one passage in which we suspect it to be inaccurate. We allude to these lines, towards the end of the Third Book of the Æneid:

> 'Praecipites metus acer agit quocumque rudentis
> Excutere, et ventis intendere vela secundis.
> Contra jussa monent Heleni, Scyllam atque Charybdim
> Inter utramque viam, leti discrimine parvo,
> Ni teneant cursus: certum est dare lintea retro.'

The whole of this passage, we think, is full of difficulty; and it is one of those upon which we expected some elucidation from Dr. Hunter: but, without pretending to reconcile all the parts of it, we are very clearly of opinion, that there ought to have been a comma after *contra* in the third line, as *jussa* seems evidently to be the nominative of the subsequent verb *monent*, and not in construction with *contra* as a preposition.

In the close of his Preface, Dr Hunter has introduced, perhaps not quite regularly, nor by any very obvious connexion, a short dissertation on the ancient form of the genitive case, which he conceives to have terminated, originally, in all the declensions in *is*. As a specimen of his acuteness and latinity, we shall subjoin this passage in the original.

'Genetivus in -i, nominum in -ES desinentium, in Virgilio frequens est; in cujus rei rationem indagandam viri docti, Heynius et Heinsius, frustra operam suam insumserunt, parum aut nihil proficientes. Itaque genitivi formam antiquissimam, unde omnes deinceps aliæ quæ in usu sunt, levibus admodum mutationibus, gradatim provenerunt, rem Grammaticis, tam veteribus, quam recentioribus, adhuc intactam, paucis indicare operæ pretium erit. Hæc igitur genitivi forma antiquissima, quam declinatio tertia adhuc plerumque servat, desinebat in -IS; ut *aura, aura*-IS; *animos, animo*-IS; *labor*, (olim *labors*) *labor*-IS; *fructus, fructu*-IS; *dies, die*-IS. Postea vel duæ vocales in unam syllabam coibant, vel s elidebatur, vel denique utrumque simul. Ita, ex *aura*-IS factum est vel *aur*-AS, ut *paterfamili*-AS vel *aura*-I, et postremo *aur*-AE, quod enunciatum videtur *aur*-AI: ex *animo*-IS, eliso s. *anim*-OI, quod est *anim*-I, ut, in plurali etiam numero, ex ανιμ-OI et ανιμ-OIΣ facta sunt *anim*-I et *anim*-IS. In declinatione tertia s plerumque retinetur; interdum, ut in *Achill*-I, *Oront*-I, &c. eliditur. In quarta *cornu* facit vel *corn*-US, contractum pro *cornu*-IS; vel, absque s, *corn*-U, contractum pro *cornu*-I. Eod emmodo ex *die*-IS factum vel *di*-ES, (vid. A. GELL. ix. 14.)

vel *die*-I; et, postremo, vel *di*-I, vel *di*-E, prout vocalis vel prior, vel posterior, ab altera absorpta fuerit. Uniuscujusque autem formæ exempla, præter -Aïs, -Oïs, et Eïs, quarum, quod sciam, exempla non extant, ex Ruddimanno, aut Vossio, petenda relinquimus; hic enim de hac re fusius agere non patitur instituti nostri ratio.'

The theory contained in this passage appears to us to be at least very probable. All languages are naturally quite regular and uniform in their structure. The idea of rĕlation, denoted by the genitive case, would therefore be expressed, it is most probable, in every word, by the same adjunct or variation; and, where varieties exist that cannot be referred to the intermixture of another language, it is most reasonable to ascribe them to some such process of abbreviation as Dr. Hunter has indicated in the foregoing passage. There is one form of the genitive however, which he has omitted to specify, or account for: we mean the termination of Achillei and Ulixei, which occur five or six times in the writings of Horace. It seems easy, however, to reduce this also under the system of Dr. Hunter. The original genitive was Achille-*ĭs*, which, with the *s* dropt from the end, gave Achille ĭ, afterwards contracted into one syllable, Achillei. This is sometimes Latinized by the editors of Horace (as in Epist. lib. I. 6. v. 65 and I. 7. v. 40) Achilli: the *i* long being the general representative of those diphthongs of which it originally formed a part; δικω forming *dico*, in this way, and ανιμοις, *animis*. The ancient Latins, indeed, appear to have had a great partiality for this vowel, as they have made it the common substitute for *o* also, in words derived from the Greed. Απολλωνος, in this way, becomes Apollĭnis; λεγομες is changed into legĭmus; and, according to Dr. Hunter, all the Greek genitives in ος into the corresponding Latin termination of *is*.

Upon the whole, we can safely recommend this as one of the most correct editions of Virgil that has yet been offered to the public. We do not know, indeed, that it contains a single typographical error; and in the reading and punctuation of the text, it is sufficient to say, that Professor Heyné has publicly declared it to be superior to any that he had previously examined. We cannot conclude, however, without again expressing our regret that Dr. Hunter did not find it convenient to add to its value, by a more copious collection of those critical remarks, of which his Preface contains so favourable a specimen.

ART. VI. *Modern Geography, a description of the Empires, Kingdoms, States, and Colonies, with the Oceans, Seas, and Isles, in all parts of the World: including the most recent Discoveries, and political Alterations* Digested on a new plan, by John Pinkerton. The astronomical introduction by the Rev S. Vince, A. M. F. R. S. and Plumian Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. With maps, drawn under the direction, and with the latest improvements, of Arrowsmith, and engraved by Lowrie To the whole is added, a catalogue of the best maps, and books of travels and voyages, in all languages. London: Cadell & Davies, and Longman & Rees. 2 vol. 4to about 1600 pages; and abridged 8vo. 700 pages.

THERE is no science so attractive as geography. It requires scarcely any preparation of previous study; and deals in a sort of information so popular and various, as to recommend itself even to those who have but little relish for literary occupations. It is indeed a kind of condensation of books of travels, and exhibits the most captivating collection of marvellous truths that ever yet were assembled, to excite or to gratify curiosity. Of its substantial utility, it is unnecessary to speak. In this country it is considered as a necessary part of the most common education; the elements of it are taught in our parish schools; and accordingly, there are scarcely any, except those in the lowest ranks of society, who are not acquainted with the relative position, distance, and comparative size and advantages of most of the nations of Europe; with the names and situations of some of their principal cities, mountains, rivers, &c. with their natural productions, and the principal articles of their manufactures and commerce:—and to whom those parts of the other quarters of the globe, where their own nation has settlements or trade, are totally unknown. On the Continent, however, the case is remarkably different. There, particularly in France, it is not uncommon to meet with persons who have had a liberal education, and who discover considerable information on other subjects, profoundly and laughably ignorant of countries adjoining to their own closely connected with it in the annals of history, or allied in commerce or friendship It is not surprising, therefore, that the continental writers should have produced but few systematic works on geography. If we except d'Anville, there is scarcely one name, in this department of science, of which they are entitled to boast. The French works of La Croix, &c. are too brief, and by no means adequate to convey that portion of geographical knowledge which will rescue that nation from the charge of comparative ignorance. The German works of Busch-

ing, Fabri Ebeling, &c. are dull and tasteless, and executed too much in the manner of the country in which they appeared, to render the study of geography easy, useful, or interesting. In this country we have long been possessed of geographical grammars: most of them indeed differ little more than in name: they have all adopted the same plan; pursued the same arrangement; and even copied mutually their mistakes and errors. While many essential and highly useful parts of geography are omitted, or carelessly and imperfectly treated, their pages are filled with a detail of events and circumstances totally unconnected with that science; they seem to have forgotten what the term *Geography* means and comprehends. We shall in vain look in them for an account and description of the different productions of the earth; of the varied or peculiar appearances of its surface; or even for accurate and scientific information respecting the boundaries and extent of the different countries. On the contrary we should be inclined, from the perusal of these works, to conclude that they contained a meagre and ill-digested *history of the world*, interspersed with a few incidental patches of geographical information. So little skill has been exercised in forming the plan, and arranging the materials of these grammars, that every addition that successively suggests itself is inserted in the most clumsy and careless manner; and, not unfrequently, the information given in one part, is directly opposite to that which we receive from another.

We have stated the defects of these systems the more fully, because we cannot characterise the modern geography of Mr. Pinkerton more precisely and at the same time more justly, than by stating it to be free from these defects. The former writings of this gentleman, and the whole course of his reading and studies, had qualified him for the necessary but inglorious drudgery of laborious compilation. The maps, charts, and books, which he must not only have consulted, but studied and compared, before such a fund of materials could have been collected, must have been very numerous. No expence appears to have been grudged; no pains or labour, however constant or tedious, to have been spared, in order to render the work a complete system of modern geography, according to the plan which, after mature deliberation, the editor thought proper to adopt. According to this plan,

—'objects most essentially allied with each other, instead of being dispersed as fragments, are here gathered into distinct heads or chapters, arranged in uniform progress, except where particular circumstances commanded a deviation: and instead of pretended histories and prolix commercial documents, the chief attention is devoted to objects

strictly geographical, but which, in preceding systems, have often appeared in the form of a mere list of names, the evanescent shades of knowledge.'

In the preliminary observations, Mr. Pinkerton enumerates the order of the topics discussed:

'1. The historical or progressive geography of each country. 2. Its political state—including most of the topics which recent German writers, by a term of dubious purity, call statistic. 3 The civil geography, including objects not so immediately connected with the government, as an account of the chief cities, towns, &c. 4. The natural geography.

To the four grand divisions of the world he has added a fifth, which he names Australasia and Polynesia, including New Holland, and the lately discovered islands in the Pacific Ocean. He has arranged the states of Europe in three divisions, according to their real consequence, as of the first, second, or third order; and each is treated at a length proportioned to its weight in the political scale, and the consequent interest which it inspires. According to this arrangement, Turkey is ranked in the first order: 'It cannot so justly be reduced to the second order; for though perhaps approaching its fall, still it boasts the name and weight of an empire' But certainly it ought to have taken its station, according to its comparative rank and influence, and its present and real consequence; and not according to its former, and now merely nominal dignity.

The general description of Europe is clear, accurate, and full. There are, however, two assertions, of which no evidence is offered; and which we are inclined to think are erroneous. In enumerating the tribes from which Europe derived its first population, Mr. Pinkerton considers the Sarmatians as distinct from the Goths and Scythians; and as the same with the Slavi, the ancestors of the Russians, Poles, &c. In the review of 'A Vindication of the Celts,' we mentioned it as our opinion, that according to the testimony of the most ancient and best informed Greek authors, the Sarmatians were descended from the Scythians; and a more close examination of those authors has completely established our belief in that opinion. It is, we know, generally believed, that the Sarmatæ and the Slavi are the same—the latter, however, cannot be the same with the people anciently called Sarmatæ, as their persons, manners, religion and language are totally distinct: and we are not acquainted with any evidence, which proves even that the Sarmatæ of the later classical authors, and the Slavi, are identical The other opinion of Mr Pinkerton is very singular, and appears to have been formed altogether by

the plastic power of hypothesis. He asserts, that the same term was employed by barbarous nations, to denote mountains and forests; because the former were frequently covered with trees.—And from this ambiguity, it seems, the Greeks and Romans were frequently led to mention and describe mountains as existing, where, in reality, there was only a large forest. Assuming these positions, for which he offers no authority, he boldly asserts the Riphæan mountains of the ancients, to have been nothing else than a large forest running from east to west *

In order that the reader may be enabled to form a clear and just idea of the materials of these volumes, we shall proceed to enumerate the different subjects which are discussed under each of the four grand divisions. 1. Historical or progressive geography. The different names by which each country has formerly been known, and is now designated, with conjectures respecting their etymological meaning, are given: the extent, boundaries, and supposed or enumerated population, are mentioned. The next article respects the original population. This very obscure topic is too frequently treated with dogmatism and unwarrantable confidence, and with an evident leaning to the author's own peculiar hypothesis. It is, however, generally curious and interesting; and presents many facts not commonly known, and many conjectures and observations unquestionably plausible and ingenious. But we must caution the reader to watch carefully and constantly the steps of Mr. Pinkerton, when he treads on antiquarian ground. Progressive Geography, Historical Epochs and Antiquities, complete the first grand division. As the first of these titles is not to be found in former geographical treatises, and is highly useful and interesting; and as the mode in which Mr Pinkerton treats the historical part, differs very essentially from that which has been generally adopted, we shall lay before our readers the progressive geography of Holland, and the historical epochs of Switzerland, as specimens of this part of the work. It is generally known, that the Rhine is now comparatively small and insignificant; and that the changes in its course, and the frequent

* In the Appendix to his 'Dissertation on the Goths and Scythians,' he advances the same opinion, and supports it by an expression of Pliny, who applies the term *jugum* to the Hircynian forest. But *jugum* is a metaphorical term, and is applicable to any continued chain; and may, therefore, without any impropriety, be applied to such a forest a the Hircynian was in the time of Pliny. It is highly improbable, that this well-informed author was ignorant of the existence of this forest. We are therefore justified, in applying the term, as used by Pliny, to a forest; although the use of it in this sense is, we believe, singular.

inundations of the sea, have frequently altered the boundaries and the appearance of Holland; but the date, the circumstances, and the exact consequences of these events, are, in general, very imperfectly known.

'The progressive geography of Holland (says Mr. Pinkerton) becomes curious and interesting, from the singular phænomenon of the increase of the sea. Upon inspecting the accurate maps of the ancient and middle geography of Gaul, by d'Anville, it will be perceived that the Rhine divided itself into two grand branches at Burginasium or Schenk, about five miles N W. of the Colonia Fragana, now an inconsiderable hamlet, called Kolo, near Cleves. The southern branch joined the Meuse, at the town of Mosa or Meuvi; while the northern passed by Durstadt, Utrecht, and Leyden, into the ocean. From the northern branch was led the canal of Drusus, which originally joined the Rhine to the Issil, a river that flowed into a considerable inland lake, called Flevo, now a southern portion of the Zuyder Zee. This canal of Drusus being neglected, and left to the operations of nature, the Rhine joined the Issil with such force, that their conjunct waters increased the lake of Flevo to a great extent; and instead of a river of that name, which ran for *near* fifty Roman miles from that lake to the sea, there was opened the wide gulph which now forms the entrance. The northern and chief mouth of the Rhine was, at the same time, weakened and almost lost, by the division of its waters; and even the canal of Drusus was afterwards almost obliterated, by the deposition of mud in a low country, in the same manner as some of the ancient mouths of the Nile have disappeared in the Delta of Egypt.

'The southern branch of the Rhine, which flowed into the estuary of the Meuse, as abovementioned, was anciently called Vahalis, a name retained in the modern Waal; the ancient isle of the Batavi being included between the two branches of the Rhine, and thus extending about 100 Roman miles in length, by about twenty-two at the greatest breadth. The estuaries of the Meuse and the Scheld have also been open to great inroads from the ocean—and the latter, in particular, which anciently formed a mere delta, with four or five small branches, now presents the island of Zealand, and the most southern of those of Holland, divided by wide creeks of the sea. This remarkable irruption is supposed to have happened at the time that the Goodwin sands arose by the diffusion and consequent shallowness of the water. These great changes may be supposed to have made a slow and gradual progress; and some of them seem so ancient as the time of Charlemagne: Some of them are so recent as the 15th century; for, in 1421, the estuary of the Meuse, or Maese, suddenly formed a vast lake to the S. E. of Dort, overwhelming seventy-two large villages, with 100,000 inhabitants, who perished in the deluge.

'By a subsequent change, the Rhine was again subdivided; and a chief branch fell into the Leck, which joins the estuary of the Meuse between Dort and Rotterdam, and must now be regarded as the

northern mouth of that noble river; while the Vahalis, or Waal, continues to be the southern; both branches being lost in a comparatively small stream, the Meuse. The less important variations in the geography, may be traced in the Francic historians, and other writers of the middle ages.' Vol. i. p. 468.

'The chief historical epochs of Switzerland, may be arranged in the following order:

'1. The wars with the Romans; the subjugation of the Helvetii and Rhæti, and the subsequent events, till the decline of the Roman Empire in the West.

'2. The irruption of the Alemanni, in the beginning of the 4th century, who are, by some, supposed to have extirpated the ancient Helvetians.

'3. The subjugation of the western part of Switzerland, as far as the river Reuss, by the Franks, who annexed that portion to Burgundy. The Grisons on the east were subject to Theodoric and other kings of Italy.

'4. The conversion of the country to Christianity, by the Irish monks Columbanus, Gallus and others, in the beginning of the seventh century.

'5. The invasion of Alemannia by the Huns, * in the year 909; and the subsequent contests with these barbarians till the middle of that century.

'6. About the year 1030, the provinces which now constitute Switzerland, began to be regarded as a part of the empire of Germany—and, in the course of two centuries, they gradually became subject to the House of Hapsburg.

'7. The commencement of the Swiss emancipation, A. D. 1307; and the subsequent struggles with the House of Austria

'8. The gradual increase of the confederacy; the Burgundian and Suabian wars; and the contests with the French in Italy.

'9. The history of the Reformation in Switzerland.

'10. The insurrection of the peasants of Berne, in the middle of the seventeenth century.

'11. The dissolution of the confederacy by the French invasion A. D. 1798.

Under the second and third divisions, Political and Civil Geography, we meet with nothing but what is to be found in other systems; but the information which they contain is arranged with more judgment—it is more full and accurate, and less mixed with extraneous matter. The last division, which is termed Natural Geography, embraces many important and interesting objects, most of which are entirely omitted, or very imperfectly detailed in former works. What Mr. P denominates the physiognomy of the country; the hills, vales, and rivers; their size, direction, and length; the nature of the soil and state of agriculture; the

* The Ugurs, so called by the writers of the time. They were a branch of the Voguls, a Finnish race.

component parts of the mountains, their general appearance and height above the level of the sea; Botany, Zoology, and Mineralogy,—form the most original articles in this division. The botanical part, as far as it regards the countries of Europe, appears to us to be rendered dry, and comparatively useless, by being loaded with technical terms. To slip in a whole system of Botany, itself a distinct and very comprehensive science, under a subdivision of a treatise on Geography, appears to us to be quite ridiculous. This branch of the subject would have been handled in a manner more suitable to the place it holds, if it had consisted rather of a detail of the appearance and use of some of the most remarkable plants; especially as this is the mode which is adopted in delivering the botany of the other divisions of the world, and is entirely followed in the Abridgment. A system of geography is not intended for the professed botanist; nor will it be consulted for scientific information in any branch: technical terms ought therefore to be carefully avoided. There is a total want of reference to authorities, for the facts mentioned under the heads, Botany, Zoology, and Mineralogy; which certainly ought to be remedied in future editions; and which appears singular, from the number of books referred to in every other part of the work. Mr. P. informs us, in his Preface, that for the botany of the several countries, this work is indebted to Mr. A. Aikin, a zealous and intelligent cultivator of natural history. He adds, 'It may be necessary to remind the unlearned reader, that the Latin names in this place are unavoidable, because plants not known in England *must* rarely admit of English appellations.'

Having given a general outline of Mr. P's plan and arrangements, we shall now proceed to particularize individual portions of the work, in which he has deviated, in most instances, with considerable advantage, from the track pursued by former geographers. He justly observes, that 'it has been urged as a reproach to modern geography, that by the obstinate retention of antiquated divisions, and the confused minuteness of separate descriptions, it has not made an uniform progress with modern history and politics, which it ought to illustrate.' (Vol. I. p. 833.) Hence many are perplexed, when, in the perusal of modern history, or in the observation of events daily occurring, they find those states acting a principal part, which are scarcely noticed, or merely grouped with others, in systems of geography; and other states, on the contrary, which those systems place in the first rank, acting a very subordinate and passive part. As an instance, Mr. P particularly notices the House of Austria, which we should be led to consider as, of itself, trifling, and almost insignificant in the affairs of Europe, if we were to form our opinion of its relative power and consequence from geographical works: whereas its hereditary dominions alone, entitle it to rank among the chief

European states. Mr. Pinkerton therefore considers, in a connected and separate point of view, the Austrian dominions, and their principal component parts, 'the arch-duchy of Austria; the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia; the grand duchy of Transylvania, which, with the Buckovina, may be regarded as part of Hungary; the dominion towards the Adriatic, with the acquisitions of Venice and Dalmatia; and, lastly, that part of Poland which has fallen under the Austrian sceptre.'

In the third rank of European powers, are included the German and Italian states. Mr. Pinkerton differs very considerably from former geographers, in his manner of classing and describing each of these. He first gives a general description of Germany; and afterwards, in two distinct chapters, enumerates and describes the several states to the north and south of the Mayne. This mode of exhibiting the minute and complicated geography of the German states, is certainly attended with many advantages. It presents to the mind a picture, in which the principal objects are more distinctly seen, and more closely grouped; and in which more attention is paid to *keeping*; but we are inclined to think, that the common division of Germany into its circles, with a general enumeration of the states contained in each, ought also to have been given. Although Mr P's method is best adapted to give a clear and distinct view, yet the constant reference to the different circles, which we meet with in history, ought to have induced him to have admitted the old division. After a general description of Italy, he considers it as divided into three parts, the southern, central, and northern; each of which he treats fully and accurately. In the appendix to the first volume, is given the value of coins used in common calculations. This table is very properly confined to those coins which are frequently mentioned in books of history and travels; and it is thus rendered less prolix and obscure than the tables appended to other geographical systems.

The second volume commences with Asia. We refer the reader to the progressive geography of this division of the world, as exhibiting a favourable specimen of our author's industry in research and extent of information, (Vol. II. p. 2—8.) In his arrangement of the Asiatic Isles, as they are improperly termed, he follows the learned President de Brosses, who, nearly half a century ago, proposed that the countries to the south of Asia, namely, New Holland, New Zealand, New Guinea, &c. should be styled *Australasia*; and the numerous isles in the Pacific, *Polynesia*. In order to arrange the different islands under these two divisions, with clearness and accuracy, Mr. P endeavours to fix some limits between the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

'As the continent of America divides the Atlantic, or Great West-

ern Ocean, from the Pacific, or Great Eastern Ocean, (both so termed in relation to the old and civilized world); and as Africa divides the Atlantic from the Indian Ocean, so, by parallel usage and deduction, what is called New Holland may be considered as the fixed division between the Indian and Pacific; thus claiming with justice the authority of a continent, washed by the Indian Ocean on the West, and the Pacific on the east; while a line drawn from the most prominent central capes, in the north and south, may be regarded as a boundary of these two oceans. The southern extension of this imaginary line is of little moment; but in the north, it must be considered as a division of great importance to precise discussion, as the isles on the west must be considered as strictly Asiatic, and intimately connected with the description of Asia; while those on the right belong to Australasia and Polynesia. This division must naturally and unavoidably depend on the observation of the widest channel between the Molucca islands, and Papira or New Guinea; and the degree of longitude, 130 from London, seems nearly to amount to a boundary. Hence Amboyna belongs to the Asiatic isles, while Timor-laut belongs to Australasia. The meridian of boundary passes through Ceram; but the proximity of that isle to Amboyna, may properly connect it with the Asiatic isles; with which Mysil may also be classed. From the N. W. extremity of Papira, or rather some small islands lying at that extremity, a clear line may be drawn, following the same meridian, and leaving Gelolo among the Asiatic isles on the W. and those of Pelew, among the Polynesian, in the Pacific. This line, then, bending N. W. would include the Philippine islands and the Bashees, passing to the S of Formosa;—the other limits and appellations being sufficiently clear.

'Such may therefore be the assumed boundary between the Indian Ocean and the Chinese Sea on the W. and the Pacific on the E. and between the Asiatic isles, and Australasia and Polynesia. The boundary between the two latter great divisions may be traced, by regarding what is called New Holland as a continent, or great leading island, with which those most adjacent must be regarded as connected. Hence Papira belongs to Australasia; and a line drawn in the latitude of three or four degrees to the N. of the Equator, and then passing S. in the meridian of 170° E. from Greenwich, so as to include the New Hebrides: thence in the parallel of 30° S. gradually stretching to 175° W. from Greenwich, including New Zealand, and the isle called Chatam, will present the natural and precise boundary of Australasia.

'That division called Polynesia, by far the most extensive, adjoins the W. to the line above drawn around the Asiatic isles; thence it ascends about lat. 18° long. 128° E. in a N. E. direction, so as to include the isle called Rica de Plata, long. 161°; and thence curving S. E. and encompassing the northern Sandwich islands, where our great navigator fell,* and the Marquesas; and extending to 120° W. from

* There are other Sandwich isles, lat. 59° S. or beneath the parallel of Cape Horn. Such is the perplexity of the received nomenclature

London. Any isles to the N. E. or E. of this line of demarkation, may be regarded as belonging to North or South America.

'The southern boundary of the Asiatic isles may be considered as sufficiently ascertained, by the wide channel between them and New Holland; while the N. W. extremity of Sumatra may present a meridian of separation on the W. between the Asiatic isles, eminently so styled, and those in the Indian Ocean. The same western boundary may be assigned to Australasia.

'The southern limits of the last, and of Polynesia, alone remain; but as few or no islands have been discovered to the S. of New Zealand, the parallel of 50° S. lat. may be lastly assumed as the boundary of both.

'Polynesia will thus extend from 50° S. lat. to about 35° N. lat.; that is, 85°, or 5100 g. miles; while the breadth taken from long. 170° E. from Greenwich, to 130° W. upon the Equator itself, will yield 60°, or 3600 g. miles.

'The length of Australasia may be computed from 95° of the same longitude, to 185°; that is, 90°; in lat. 30°, or nearly 5000 g. miles; while the breadth, lat. 30° N. to lat. 50° S. will be 3180 g. miles.

'Even the smallest division, that of the Asiatic isles, which has been called the Oriental Archipelago, is of great extent, from 13° S. lat. to 22° N. lat.; that is, 35°, or 2100 g. miles—while the length, from 95° E. long. to 132°, yields 37° not far from the Equator, nearly corresponding with the breadth.'

In perusing Mr. Pinkerton's work, we have observed several omissions and errors; more in number, and in general, of greater consequence, than we should have expected from an author so long habituated to minute and laborious investigation. The principal of these we shall lay before our readers, and also our reasons for differing from Mr. Pinkerton in some of his speculations and conjectures. Sunderland, Paisley, and Kilmarnock, towns which have rapidly increased in population, trade and consequence, within these few years, are either passed over in absolute silence, or barely mentioned, and classed with places of comparatively trifling size and importance. We are afraid, that the unfounded and unaccountable prejudice of Mr. Pinkerton against the Gentle Shepherd, induced him to omit the name of Allan Ramsay in the list of Scotish poets. In vol. I. p. 146, where he treats of the antiquities of Scotland, we were surprised and disappointed not to find the vitrified forts described, or even noticed. They are such well-known and singular remains of antiquity, and have given rise to so many various conjectures respecting the object, mode, and time of their construction, that the omission betrays great carelessness and inattention. Mr. Pinkerton suffers his fondness for hypothesis to pervert his judgment, in p. 252, where, speaking of the stone monuments at Carnac in Brittany, he infers

that they were erected by the Belgic Gauls, and not the Celts, because the Veneti who inhabited that country in the time of Cæsar, were Belgæ; but, according to Mr. Pinkerton himself, *they* were not the original inhabitants, but the Celts. His description of those curious monuments is imperfect and incorrect. He appears to be ignorant that many have, not improbably, supposed them to be part of an entrenchment of Cæsar†. He is entirely silent respecting that work, of stupendous labour and incalculable utility, the Levé on the banks of the Loire. As this structure, so far as we recollect, is not even mentioned in the generality of the descriptions of France, we shall present our readers with the following account of it, taken from a recent tour through France.

'We now entered upon the Levé, in my opinion the most stupendous work which France, or almost any other country can exhibit. Compared with it, the utmost exertions of the kind which I have elsewhere seen, are insignificant and pigmy productions: if it is any where outstripped, it must be in Holland and in China. The parts of Anjou, Tourraine, and the Orleannois, which border on the Loire, are perfectly flat; and, in the earlier ages of the world, must have formed a vast morass, of not less than 100 miles in length, and from 20 to 40 miles wide. So says tradition; and it appears highly probable.

'The Levé is an immense bulwark, raised by human hands, to exclude the river from this wide, extended tract of country, and confine its waters within its banks, and extends from Angers to Orleans, perhaps farther. Its base may be about 40 feet wide; its elevation is nearly 25 from the adjoining level; and its upper surface, which is paved with large stones, like the streets of London, just capacious enough to admit of three carriages abreast. My inquiries concerning the date of its origin, and by whom executed, were unavailing.'*

Mr. Pinkerton agrees with Mr. Townsend in the causes which he assigns for the defect and decrease of the population of Spain. This is computed at 11,000,000, or 74 to a square mile; while France yields 174, and England 169; and the kingdom of Naples is computed at 201. The expulsion of the Jews, after the conquest of Granada; that of the Moors by Philip III the contagious fevers frequent in the southern provinces; the incessant intestine wars carried on for seven centuries against the Moors; the emigrations to America; the vast number of unmarried clergy and monks, and the want of detached farms; are the principal causes assigned by Mr. Townsend. We are very much in-

† Nouvelles recherches sur la langue, &c. des Bretons, par Mr. L. T. D C. (Mr. De la Tour d'Auvergne Corret.)

* Hughes' Tour through several of the midland and western departments of France in 1802, p. 124.

clined to doubt the operation of several of these assigned causes, at least to any extent, or for any length of time; and are of opinion, that others not mentioned by Mr. Townsend, particularly that bane of agriculture, the Mesta, and the taxes called Alcavalla and Millones, have been more general and predominant and lasting in their influence.

We are surprised that Mr. Pinkerton, whose researches on the subject of language, where it is connected with the antiquities of a country, or illustrative of the origin and relationship of nations, are well known, should have passed over in silence that spoken in the Banhat of Temeswar, which, from the account and specimens given of it by Ferber in his letters to Baron Born, is more similar to the Latin than any other modern tongue is, and confirms the tradition, that the present inhabitants of that part of Transylvania are descendants of the ancient Romans, most probably of such as fled from Italy at the invasion of the Goths. Mr. Pinkerton is silent also respecting a small tribe who inhabit part of Dalmatia near the sea, and who, from the account of Fortis and a recent traveller*, ought to be placed, in the scale of human comforts and of intellect, far below the savages of Terra del Fuego, or Van Diemen's land. Nothing but the extremity of hunger can compel them to use any exertion to procure food; and in this employment, they discover no skill or ingenuity; so that, if any thing obstruct them in their accustomed stupid method, their resources are at an end: they cease to labour, and resign themselves to torpid inactivity and famine.

It is well known, that the north-west corner of Spain is inhabited by a race of people totally distinct in manners, disposition, and language, from the other inhabitants of that peninsula. Their language, in particular, presents not the most distant resemblance in its original and genuine words, or in its grammatical structure, to any of the languages of Europe. It is probably more pure than any other modern tongue. Their manners and disposition also seem not to have been changed or modified by their vicinity to France and the other parts of Spain. In whatever respect the Biscayans are considered, they may justly be deemed a singular race, well worthy the attention of the philosopher and philologist. Don Hervas, who has lately published a catalogue of all the known languages, is inclined to the opinion, that the people of Georgia in Asia are descended from a Basque colony, from the close and general resemblance between the languages spoken in Georgia and Biscay. The accounts which are given by Baretti and Fischer, of the manners and language of Biscay, are

* Voyage pittoresque en Dalmatie, &c.

very meagre and imperfect. From the researches of Mr. Pinkerton, stimulated by his attachment to antiquarian and philological studies, we expected some original and accurate information on this subject; but he does not even take notice of this part of Spain. Mr. Pinkerton ought to have described, among the natural curiosities of the German states, the subterraneous recesses in the sands of Westphalia, in which human bodies have been preserved for many centuries, by the extreme aridity of the soil and climate, without any alteration, except that their skin is dry and shrivelled. A very short and imperfect notice is given of the island of Sardinia, in a note (vol. I. p 650) This island, from its size, ought certainly not to have been passed over in this degrading manner; and as Mr Pinkerton must have known that former systems of geography contain very little information respecting it, and that it has never been described or visited by any English traveller, he ought to have considered it as his duty, in a work which is held forth as a complete system, and as intended and calculated to supply the defects of former authors, to have given the result of every thing which has been written respecting this island. In the account of Tibet, no mention is made of the existence of Cretins, similar to those near Sion in Switzerland; though, as these unhappy creatures are found only in these two countries, and present an appearance at once humiliating to human nature, and interesting to the philosopher, the existence of them in Tibet ought certainly to have been mentioned.

Mr. Pinkerton seems, with great justice, to doubt of the existence of Baffin's Bay: it is, indeed, very improbable that Baffin should have made, in so high a latitude, so many discoveries as he claimed; and it is singular that they are all unknown to succeeding navigators. If Baffin's Bay do not exist, it is probable that Greenland is a continuation of the new continent: from the specimens of the language of Greenland and the Esquimaux Indians given by Don Hervas, the connexion, or at least the contiguity of these countries may be inferred In page 587, Mr. Pinkerton has extracted from Dobrizhoffer, a German missionary, a very curious account of the Abipons, a warlike nation on the Rio Grande.

Mr. Pinkerton's work concludes with a catalogue of maps, charts, and books. A *catalogue raisonnée*, if executed with judgment and impartiality, would be a very useful appendage to every work which had required from the author extensive research. It would not only prove highly satisfactory to the reader, by enabling him to collect information for himself, and to confirm every account of which he entertained any doubt, but it would

serve the important purpose of saving time, and preventing its misapplication in the perusal of improper or trifling publications. Books are now so multiplied, that he who wishes to engage in the study of any branch of literature or science, is at a loss which to reject, and which to peruse; and would feel himself highly indebted to the man who would give him a catalogue, and a short character of the principal works in each department. Such catalogues might be drawn up without much labour, if each author, who has been employed on a work where it was necessary to consult all that had been previously written, would undertake the one connected with his subject. They are not uncommon in Germany; and there are a few in France. In the former country, Professor Meiners has appended to his History of all Religions a most excellent, and at the same time concise, account of the different books which he consulted. The catalogue of Mr. Pinkerton is defective in many respects: The titles are seldom given fully; frequently the size of the book, and the best edition, is not mentioned; and the character is not sufficiently precise and determinate. We shall briefly notice a few of the most important omissions and errors.

'Marshall's Journey,' &c It is impossible to determine what book is meant by this short and imperfect title. The work referred to was published in 1776; the author was W. Marshall, Esq. he travelled through all the North of Europe, and through Poland, the Netherlands, Germany, and parts of France and Spain. The work consists of four volumes; but the fourth volume, which contains his journey through France and Spain, is seldom to be met with. We can confidently recommend these travels, as containing more full, accurate, and scientific information on the important subject of agriculture, than most works of this nature

'Ponz, Viage de Espana, *eight* volumes 8vo.' There are *twelve* volumes of this work: the last four were published some years after the first eight.

'Kæmpper's Japan, excellent.' Mr. Pinkerton ought to have mentioned, that the English translation of this work, which was published by the liberality of Sir Hans Sloane, is very incomplete: and that the original entire work was lately published in French and we believe in German, which alone ought to be consulted.

The maps, in the quarto edition, which are of the same size, ought either to have been left out, or given on a much larger scale, separately, so as to have formed an atlas, of a size proportioned to the extent and importance of the work: as they are they add considerably to the price, and little or nothing to the value of the book. The introduction, by Mr. Vince, contains

every thing that the student should know previously to the commencement of his geographical studies. The latter part of it, however, which treats of the physiology of plants, and some branches of meteorology, we think superfluous—and it certainly is imperfect, and in many respects incorrect. This part of the introduction, the Linnæan names of plants, and the geographical discussions and conjectures interspersed in the larger work, are omitted in the abridgment; in other respects, it seems nearly a transcript of the quarto edition; and, from the comparatively small price and more convenient form, will be more generally useful.

ART. VII. *Second Voyage à la Louisiane, faisant Suite au Premier de l'Auteur.* Par Baudry des Lozières. 2 tomes en 8vo. pp. 824. Paris. Charles. An xi. 1803. (Mars.)

THE reader who should expect any thing like a book of travels from this title, would fall into a great mistake. These volumes have no pretensions to the name; and the only reason which influenced the author in the choice of it, is, that he formerly wrote a '*Voyage à la Louisiane*' The present publication is, in every sense of the word, a miscellany; and the only uniformity which it possesses, is the perpetual egotism of the author. Were it not for this constantly prevailing feature, we should never be able to conceive, at any one page, that the book before us had not been changed since the last. The childishness of Citizen Baudry is indeed so excessive, and so various, as to become amusing; and the entertainment is from time to time heightened by the reflection, that this singular creature is actually Historiographer of the French colony department. Unconnected as the different parts of the work are, except by the presence of the author, and large as the subject is upon which he might have entered—the whole colonial affairs of the republic; we believe it would be difficult to diffuse matter more thinly over so great a space as he has contrived to sprinkle with something like information and reflections. His effusions are, for the most part, only valuable as affording some curious specimens of the principles which seem at present to regulate the confidential servants of the French government in their views of West Indian policy, and some striking instances of the total change which the last years of the revolutionary crisis have effected upon the general principles of Frenchmen. Here and there we meet with a fact of some importance, enveloped in a cloud of rant, sentiment, and excla-

mation. Not unfrequently we perceive traces of that natural eloquence with which the very worst of the French writers occasionally surprise us. And although the levity and inconsistency which so strongly mark the characters, as well as the manners of that nation, form the predominant quality of the style, as well as of the matter; yet are we repeatedly consoled with a glimpse of sentiments very different from those which have lately been tolerated at Paris.

The motto—

'Si canimus sylvas, sylvæ sint *Consule* dignæ,'

is rather more applicable to the book than its title; for though we find little about woods, there is a great deal in praise of the First Consul.

In the form of a dedication to those colonists who have been ruined by the revolution of the '*negrophiles*,' our author contrives to give a life and character of himself; reminds these unfortunate people (*ces êtres intéressans*, as he generally calls them) how he used to plead their causes for small fees; how he afterwards gave up the bar in order to fight for them; and how, for a small matter, they may see a full account of what feats his regiment performed, by sending to Benichets the printer, No. 142, *rue de la Pomme, Toulouse*. All this we conceive to be the *seasoning* which, he begins by telling them, flattery requires in order to render it palatable. The whole flattery consists in repeating what he has heard many Europeans say—that, had they been ruined like the colonists, they would have died of the spleen.

If such is the style of the dedication, our readers will easily imagine what must be the tone of the preface, a department exclusively devoted, by immemorial usage, to the benefit of the author. It contains one piece of information which might well have been spared, but which is repeated at least half a dozen times, in notes, parentheses, and introductions, that this work was written while the printing went on. '*A mesure qu'on imprime, on ecrit*,' is indeed one of M. Baudry's favourite boasts. This worthy citizen's contentment with himself, is not more enviable, and not much more inexplicable, than his entire satisfaction with the measure of liberty enjoyed under the Consular administration. 'Under such a government,' says he, 'we are permitted to publish every thing that is useful; and this *amiable* freedom demonstrates at once the increasing strength of that government, and the rising happiness of the people.'

With an evident allusion to Jaffa and Switzerland, he tells us, (p. 2. vol i) that France is now governed only by talents and virtues; and, in p. 335, we learn, that the Augustus of modern times has added Britain to his empire. The re-conquest of Ca-

nada is a favourite scheme with our author: He talks of it as a natural consequence of the restitution of Louisiana to France; says, that it may be effected the first favourable moment; and seems to consider the right of property as really inherent in the ancient possessors, (p 252.) Such was the language held by the writers belonging to the Consular government, at the very time when their master complained of the free effusions of the British press as a breach of the pacific relations between the two countries!

But M Baudry would not be satisfied with encircling the United States by the acquisition of Canada and Louisiana. He plainly avows his opinion, that France is the natural mistress of all North America. He proposes the conciliation of the Indian tribes as a step equally sure and easy towards the accomplishment of this project; and, mingled as usual with a large proportion of absurdity, we certainly do find, in this part of his remarks, some matter of serious reflection. Every one acquainted with the history of those savage tribes, knows how much more prone they have always been found to embrace the alliance of the French than of the English. The observations of Mr. Burke upon this fact, are also well known. He ascribes it to the extreme *souplesse* of the French character. M Baudry does not fail to enlarge upon the theme, though in language somewhat different from that employed by our great English writer. And he mentions, apparently without any idea of its importance, a very striking circumstance, which demonstrates the systematic attention of the French rulers, at all times to aid the favourable tendency of the national manners in conciliating the Indians. In the year 1798, he met a party of these people near Philadelphia. Their chief shewed him a certificate, finely written, and signed *Buonaparte:* adding: 'You see that I am a Frenchman, since Buonaparte has sent me a passport.' Our author afterwards learnt, that the Chancellor of the French Consulate at Philadelphia had given the Indian this paper, on account of the enthusiasm which he showed for Bonaparte. This adroitness in gaining over friends, is one of the very few parts of the French policy which we should wish to see imitated by the governments of other nations. It may certainly be kept entirely separate from the ends to which it has been applied by the revolutionary leaders.

We have remarked, that the work now before us has not the smallest similarity to a '*voyage*' We may add, that it has little or no connexion with '*Louisiane.*' The author confesses his love of digression to be irresistible; and apologizes for it, partly by an allusion to Montaigne, and partly by fairly telling us, that every mind, like every body has its peculiar physiognomy, and that he cannot change the nature of his. Accordingly, above

half of the first volume is occupied with the life of a M. Grondel, the oldest soldier in France; and it is only in digressions from this digression, that we find a few unconnected remarks upon Louisiana.

Nothing can be more calamitous than a biographer like M. Baudry, to a plain, respectable man, such as we perceive General Grondel to be, notwithstanding the ridicule in which he is unceasingly involved by his friend's efforts to immortalize him. Through the whole of this narrative, we are unable to discover any thing peculiar in the deeds of the General, unless that he commanded an out-post in Louisiana, made several narrow escapes from the Indians, had a quarrel with the governor, and, from having lately been out of employment, has avoided being killed — Yet every trifling occurrence of this very simple life, is magnified into heroism; and the biography of such a man is a matter of first-rate importance; because had his valour been exerted in Europe, he might probably have risen to the highest stations in the republican service. It is frightful to think of the consequences which would follow, from the extension of this principle: we should have nearly as many lives written, as there are spent. Nor is General Grondel the only subject of eloge in this narrative. Our author's manner is, as he says himself (vol. I p. 6), *sauter avec promptitude d'un sujet à un autre.* In conformity with this principle, he gives a laboured eloge of the grenadier Regnisse, who carried M. Grondel away on his shoulders from a skirmish in which he was wounded 'Glory for ever (says our eloquent author) be to that incomparable Regnisse; that saviour of a young man truly interesting; that hero so worthy the title of grenadier! May his name be handed down to the latest posterity, and become the rallying word,' &c &c. (p 47, vol. I) He is, of course, compared to the grenadier who saved the life of the First Consul. M Grondel's father is also introduced, and praised for his address in deceiving the Indians. Many feats of this kind are recited; as, how he made them believe, he could burn the Mississippi, by slipping some brandy into a glass; how he cheated them with a wig ('a refinement of art, of which they had no idea') and thus saved his scalp; how he practised the old stratagem of the burning glass, &c. 'Happy ascendant of genius and science (exclaims M. Baudry), it is by your means that mankind are led!' Our author having in the outset warned us not to be surprised at seeing him '*souvent causer avec moi-même*,' seems indeed resolved not to let the preparative be lost. The discussions which he holds are very curious; they breathe that pure love of *truism*, which animates so many French reasoners. Thus the life of General Grondel is interspersed with acute arguments, to prove

such positions as the following: That a shoemaker should not make *pâtés;* and that every man should keep in his place, in order to avoid confusion (p. 93.): that a lawsuit is a terrible thing, (p. 146): that M. Baudry is no philosopher; and that the poetry in p. 374. is written by himself Sometimes these truisms are delivered without the demonstrations; but preceded by a *voilà*, the French signal for important discovery Thus, *voilà* how a well placed firmness produces happy effects (p 41.): *voila* how small things may lead to great dangers (p. 39.) General Grondel having been presented at the Tuileries, we have a long hosannah raised to the First Consul, the immortal descendant of heaven, &c &c. This narrative concludes with a kind of surprise to the reader. We are told, that, after all, General Grondel is not a hero. Why? because the Deity is the only hero in the universe! (p. 181.) The General, however, we are informed, is like old Silenus, full of gaiety; can repeat whole plays; excites the appetite of his friends, by his own hearty stomach; and shews incredible address in amusing the ladies by tricks.

The only good passage which we have met with in this singular piece of biography, is the following accurate description of the French character. It displays a greater degree of impartiality and calm sense, than our readers might be apt to expect from the author of the frippery we have been describing.

'Cependant l'on se réfroidit aisément sur le mérite des hommes. En France, surtout, où l'admiration va jusqu'à l'enthousiasme, on oublie bientôt l'utilité d'un homme précieux; on s'y accoutume à tout, on s'y lasse promptement de tout, et l'on y traite les matières les plus sérieuses, avec cette légèreté qui fait le caractère national. C'est l'empire où il y a le plus d'esprit, et le moins de reconnaissances. Le besoin du changement occasionné par un fond naturel d'inconstance, fait qu'on y donne au mérite, l'éclat éphémère d'un goût passager, et qu'il y subit les lois versatiles de la mode journalière.

M. Baudry also deserves commendation for his constant detestation of that false philosophy which presided over the formation of the French republic. It is something novel to hear such language from a *commis* of that government; and, indeed, the cordial support which he gives to the present order of things in France, is frequently at variance with the more wholesome principles which he appears to hold upon political subjects. There is no great consistency in a writer who praises both Bonaparte and Louis XVI.; weeps over the horrors of the second year, and adores the atrocities of the consular government; cants against the encyclopedists, and bends before the national institute.

Upon the subject of religion, we meet with the same inconsist-

ency. It is extolled, indeed, with the loudest praises; but evidently from its political tendency. The atheists are abused, after the usual doubts respecting their existence; and yet, the propriety of keeping the negroes in a state of idolatry, is strongly inculcated, because it diminishes the waste of animal food on the slave coast. The propagation of the gospel is confounded with '*philosophisme*,' while the christian religion is recommended as useful to the colonies. In short, M. Baudry, when he touches upon the general questions either of liberty or of religion, is, like the greater part of his countrymen since the Revolution, obliged to use a language quite new in France; and he perpetually falls into the old irreligious dialect. We actually meet with the following curious exclamation, in a panegyric upon a man's christianity.

'Ainsi, qu' importe aujourd'hui à M. de St. Laurent qui est mort, que la terre se ferme sur ses depouilles, que l'eternité et l'oubli le pressent de tout leur poids? Du silence de la vie il est passé au silence de la mort; mais son âme vit, et elle plane au milieu des delices sur le vide des choses humaines.'

This mixture of creeds can by no means be imputed to some of our author's effusions upon the subject of liberty. In these we meet with far more open and unqualified admiration of despotism than any courtier of the Bourbons ever found it worth his while to display. Such transitions from the principles of late so popular in France, form, we imagine, a peculiar feature in the character of that fickle nation. After mentioning the new calendar, our author exclaims,

'What do words signify, provided one is a good Frenchman, and loves the government? The philosophers may do what they please, the people will never be enlightened. It will remain always a dangerous mass, prone to change its lights into conflagration; and our professors of the second year ought to be content with their experience. Too much light blinds and fatigues the class condemned by nature to live in darkness, &c. Vol. 1. p. 88.

Language like this, a few years ago, would have secured for the historiographer to the colonies, a station in Cayenne. A wise man would find it difficult to pronounce, whether the tenets of that day, or of the present, are farthest removed from truth. The extremes of opinion, between which we have seen the French people vibrate, are perhaps alike erroneous, though not productive of dangers equally immediate.

That part of M. Baudry's work which relates to colonial affairs, bears constant marks of the prejudices natural to a planter ruined by the negro insurrections; and the incongruity of these prejudices is often as remarkable as their number and obduracy. The

negroes are a race of inferior beings, doomed by nature to a state of slavery. Such is M. Baudry's fundamental principle; and yet he complains of the regular correspondence which the insurgents of St. Domingo maintain with their brethren in Paris; inveighs against the sumptuous pride with which these men appear in the capital; and denounces them as dangerous, both by their numbers and their machinations, to the mother country. With all the horrors of the negro character before his eyes in the most exaggerated proportions, he proposes new schemes for increasing the slave traffic. While he acknowledges the impossibility of restoring tranquillity to the revolted island without an extended system of military operations; and pretends, that, at any time, a few factious whites have it in their power to raise whole colonies of negroes in rebellion; he is proposing schemes for increasing the black population, and extending the slave system to the new settlements. Truly, we assent to one proposition of our author, (p. 279): 'Je suis homme, et je suis, comme les autres, etampé de la foiblesse humaine.'

Now, supposing that tranquillity is restored to the French islands, our author details, at a most fatiguing length, his views with respect to their improvement. The necessity of ameliorating the structure of society in those settlements, he cannot deny; and from his verbose declamation in favour of certain general plans, we collect, that he considers the chief *desideratum* to be good magistrates, more especially in the judicial department. But, instead of pointing out any means by which this important want may be supplied, he gives a dissertation against men soliciting for places which they are incapable of filling; and exhorts all those who look towards preferment, to imitate his example, in refraining from the pursuit of places above their capacity. After good magistrates shall have been procured in consequence of these hints, he proposes that a picture of the Persian monarch flaying the unjust judge, be placed in a conspicuous part of every court of judicature. He is decidedly an enemy to Juries in the colonies, and argues upon this point with some acuteness. But it does not at all appear how the fear of being forced to attend upon Jury trials would operate so strongly in deterring planters from residence, as the manifold benefits of the institution would operate in rendering the colonies an agreeable abode. The example of the English settlements may serve to prove, that no serious inconvenience is likely to result, even to the most industrious planters, from attendance to judicial duties. M. Baudry conceives, that mulattoes and negroes should be prevented from possessing plantations in great culture, and should be forced to reside in the neighbourhood of great towns, or other places of strength.

He thinks, that all free negroes, and free people of colour, should, if not possessed of some property, be reduced to the state of day-labourers or soldiers; and proposes, that no mulatto nearer the negro than child of a quarteroon, should be allowed to learn reading and writing. All these plans of restriction appear to us utterly inconsistent with the idea of free negroes and mulattoes: nor can we imagine the possibility of ameliorating the state of society in those parts without keeping the gradual abolition of slavery, and amalgamation of colours in view. If the free people of colour are to be oppressed by such regulations, while they are separated both from the whites and the slaves, the colonial government must expect a renewal of the scenes which first arose from this very quarter.

The plan of prohibiting taverns, at least for the slaves, seems liable to no objection. The evils of intoxication are certainly augmented by those places of resort; and when we are considering the remedies for abuses in a system of slavery, such an argument as this may be deemed sufficient of itself. It would, however, be difficult to suppress taverns for slaves, without also suppressing those for the free orders; and this unquestionably leads to many complicated discussions, the very existence of which M. Baudry seems not to have suspected

The necessity of attending to the state of the highways is enforced with some strength It is farther proposed, that these should be planted with fruit trees for the refreshment of the passenger, who would be prevented from abusing this indulgence, by the constant fear of the patroles. Our author's whole policy, indeed, is a strange mixture of liberty and restraint, derived apparently from the unnatural state of society in those slave colonies where he has resided. His ideas of commerce are sometimes singularly unfortunate. He is for the Legislature interfering with what he calls the 'morality of trade;' alleging that he has observed avarice prevail very generally, both among the merchants and the shopkeepers of the colonies. In another part, he seriously proposes, that the number of printers should be limited by law, in order to render them less needy, and prevent them from being such bloodsuckers to poor authors. We have here, at least one instance of the restraints of the mercantile system, supported by those whose interests they attack; for the raiser of the commodity is actually absurd enough to desire that his market should be contracted, and his sales subjected to a monopoly. In one of his three sets of notes (*posterieures*, *ulterieures*, and *paralipomenes*), our author attacks Bryan Edwards with great vehemence for his imputations upon Citizens Ailhaud and St. Leger. He appears to have succeeded in freeing the former of these men from the hasty

allegations of the English writer: But the sum of the defence urged for the latter seems to be, that he twice saved M. Baudry's life in the West Indies.

The second volume is, if possible, less peculiarly connected with Louisiana than the first; but it contains some information of considerable value to West Indian colonists; as, a Congo vocabulary; a list of medicines, with notes of their properties; a Botanical manual, and a variety of directions respecting regimen, the fruit of our author's experience in tropical countries. In a scientific point of view, this volume is also entitled to notice. It presents us with a very curious account of the insect which produces the animal cotton. The process is singular: A worm of considerable size, which our author calls *Porte mouches*, (well known to planters as the Manioc or Indigo worm), is, at one period of the year, attacked by swarms of the Ichneumon fly. They deposit their eggs in every pore of the unfortunate worm, which now becomes a hot-bed for hatching them. The insects, produced all at once, immediately spin each a very minute white cod, which envelopes it. The manioc worm is now covered with a white pod, which he, with considerable difficulty, shakes of; and, in a few days, the insects are again hatched from it, but in the form of flies, leaving the animal-cotton behind them. Our author describes this production as very abundant in all the colonies, and as possessing great advantages over the vegetable cotton. It would undoubtedly be a most valuable acquisition to those plantations which at present suffer so much from the ravages of the manioc worm. M. Baudry's scientific observations, however, are not always so happy. He talks of the parabola described by falling stars, though with some contempt of the vulgar, for giving the phænomenon that name; and he can see only one difference between the phlogistic and the modern system of chemistry, viz. the substitution of the term caloric for phlogiston.

The only other matter worth attending to in this work, is the account which it contains of the *colonial chambers of agriculture*, as new modelled by the consular government. The object of this institution is the improvement of the whole body of colonial affairs. These Boards, by corresponding with their deputies at Paris, who form a council to the minister of marine, are authorised to denounce every abuse in the administration of the settlements. That some of the alterations in the institution are likely to produce beneficial effects, we do not deny. But it would be absurd to expect any material advantages from this system of *espionage*, when the members of each Board are effectively named by those whose conduct they are appointed to watch.

M. Baudry does not appear quite so constantly in the second, as in the first volume; but we have been malicious enough to derive some amusement from the frequent recurrence of his lamentations over a Colonial Encyclopædia, in twenty-five volumes quarto, which he had toiled at during eighteen years, and which he lost in the troubles of St. Domingo. His argument, in favour of establishing a Board of ruined Planters (*ces êtres interessans*), to assist the government of the mother country with advice upon colonial affairs, is also somewhat original: 'If I (says he) alone, in the midst of my own ideas, without assistance from any other —without the least communication with a living soul—have been furnished with so many materials by my imagination, and my other intellectual faculties, what might not government expect from a whole commission of advisers!' vol. ii. p. 345.

ART. VIII. *Cours de Morale Religieuse.* Par M. Necker. 3. vol. 8vo. Paris. 1800.

M. NECKER's former publications are very well known: though the attention they have excited is rather to be referred to their connexion with his short and eventful political career, than to their own intrinsic excellence. The singular title of the volumes now before us, led us to suppose that a considerable analogy might subsist between the author's former work *on the importance of religious opinions*, and the present *course of religious morality*. We have not been mistaken. The similarity in style, and in sentiment, is indeed very great; although it must be confessed that the former is entitled to take the precedence on a more substantial ground than mere priority of date.

The man, however, who acted so conspicuous a part at the commencement of the French revolution, and who may reasonably flatter himself that his opinions must still have some weight with the people whom he once governed, is certainly entitled to attention; especially when he speaks upon a subject of incontestible importance, and which he seems to have had very much at heart. M Necker, we believe, still resides at Copet, near Geneva; but the discourses here offered to the public are not addressed to his immediate countrymen the Swiss. He supposes himself placed in the heart of France; and it is to the peculiar circumstances of that country that this publication is accommodated, (Prel. Refl. p. 44. vol. i.) France, indeed, exhibits at present an aspect altogether new among civilized nations. From the beginning of the revolution to the year 1802, France may be said to have had no religious education, and scarcely any education whatever within

the reach of her youth. The consequence is, that the most active part of her population, and nearly three-fifths of her soldiers and sailors, have attained the maturity of bodily strength, without any moral, and with very little intellectual culture. Inheriting all the advantages which are derived from the successful cultivation of the arts, and possessing every imaginable physical capability, a numerous nation of this description would be an object of terror, under any degrees of latitude or longitude; but must excite still greater alarm in the centre of the civilized world! That such men may gain battles, and, when stimulated by the hope of plunder, may astonish or overwhelm other nations, has been sufficiently proved. But whether they can enjoy rational freedom at home, and discharge, in times of tranquillity, the duties of good citizens, is yet to be tried. Constitutional liberty, indeed, is now out of the question: and M. Necker seems to have had a prophetic intimation of the state of the government, when, in the year 1798, he declared—

'It is not, indeed, the reestablishment of our ancient slavery in its former shape which we have now to dread, but the approach to it in a disguised form, as soon as it shall be discovered that the most vigorous exercise of authority is unable to restrain a people who have shaken off all religious control. The silence and subordination of slavery will be attained, by raising and maintaining immense armies; by filling up their ranks with our young men; by making those young men exchange the conflict of other passions for the rigour of military discipline; and by employing those armies, in all their violence and energy, to inspire universal terror. What a sad substitute for religious morality! What an exchange for that authority, of which the injunctions were so mild, and the exercise so indulgent! How dreadfully have we been deceived!' Prelim. Refl. p. 24. vol. i.

The avowed design of M. Necker's work, therefore, is to counteract the operation of this tremendous evil, and to revive religious impressions in France, by an appeal to the united powers of reason and revelation. In this design, every good man will wish him success, though many will doubt if he be qualified to obtain it. He divides his course of religious morality into five sections; in all, containing twenty-nine sermons. The first section has four sermons, which treat of the basis of natural religion and morality. These sermons are on the existence of a God; the union of morality with the divine perfections; the doctrine of a providence; and the immortality of the soul. The second section discusses the duties common to all men, such as truth, justice, charity. The third section is taken up with the relative duties of the different ages and situations of social life;

such as those of husband and wife, parent and child. The fourth contains sermons on the sentiments and habits of mind which render men guilty or miserable; as, envy, vanity, ambition, &c. And the fifth and last section treats of the Christian religion, and of irreligious systems

He does not touch on any of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity; nor does he enter upon any investigation of the external proofs which are usually adduced in support of the Christian scheme. The internal evidence is only casually glanced at. He appears indeed to have assumed the Christian character, rather from a sense of its utility or expediency, than from a conviction of its truth; and his sermons are to be considered as deistical essays written in a Christian country.

M. Necker explains his motives for adopting the plan just mentioned, in fifty two pages of preliminary reflections, which are better written than any other portion of the work. He seems to think that his method is new, because the discourses have a sort of connexion with one another, and because he draws from natural religion alone the authority of his instructions; and contents himself with hinting, in a very general way, at the aid which Christianity affords them. (Prel. Refl. p. 43. vol I.)—There is certainly nothing new, or very meritorious, in all this arrangement; and it is indeed inconsistent with the author's eulogy on Scripture in p. 40. It is equally inconsistent with the supposition, that the discourses are addressed to a popular audience in France. He does not specify the rank or education of his supposed hearers; and, while he says that he considers himself as preaching like an aged pastor to a popular audience, he confesses that he has not omitted any philosophical reflection that occurred, and that 'his succinct code of religious morality is to be distinguished from other collections of sermons, by its being *intended to be read*, and by its containing a connected train of moral and religious instruction.' (Prel. Refl p. 44.)

This is challenging a more rigorous criticism than, we are afraid, M. Necker is able to stand. The greater part of his discourses are composed in so diffuse and declamatory a style as could only be justified by the design of pronouncing them in a popular assembly; and even upon this supposition, they will often be found deficient in dignity and consistency of expression. To us, indeed, it appears that he sometimes, in his introductions to his discourses, dreams of addressing a numerous and motly audience; but, in the course of his sermon, many are perceived to fall asleep, or to slip out of the church, until at length he sees only a couple of politicians or false philosophers, to whom he addresses himself for a long time, in a whining strain of lyric voci-

feration; and then concludes as he began. Making every allowance for his good intentions, how shall we reconcile some of the following passages with M. Necker's judgment and good sense?

In order to prove the existence of a God, he makes choice of Exodus, ch. 3. v. 14. for his text, (our author preaches, like others, from texts of scripture)—'*Je suis celui qui suis*,' a still worse translation than our 'I am that I am;' and breaks out into the following address:

'How great, how imposing is this expression, for giving us an idea of the Essence of the Creator and Master of the world! It is as if he had said to the children of Israel, and by them to the whole earth—No definition, no image, can explain to your minds, or represent to your senses, an eternal Being, who has placed an immense distance between himself and the highest period of your moral faculties, between himself and the last boundary of the researches and conquests of genius. Yes, the heavens of heavens are between God and man,' &c. Vol. I. p. 3.

Now, whatever the idea may be, the mere French expression, *Je suis celui qui suis*, is neither more nor less than an identical proposition. It is neither *great*, therefore, nor *imposing*; nor does it give any *idea* of any *essence* whatever.

Amidst his other exclamations of wonder at the greatness of the works of nature, which he considers as a conclusive proof of the being of a God, we find the following satisfactory reflection:

'O prodigies! prodigies! and which surpass our understanding!—But every thing is done, every thing is *explained* in the universe by two eternal principles, the Almighty power of its Master, and his immense beneficence.' Vol. I. p. 14.

And afterwards,

'We may perceive the system of final causes developing and extending itself in an universal manner, with as much regularity as precision.' Vol. I. p. 21.

This precise development of all final causes, must undoubtedly prove very consolatory to the minds of M Necker's disciples. In truth, whoever peruses this discourse on the existence of a God, will find neither philosophical reasoning nor scriptural authority in his matter; nor in his style, that clearness and simplicity that is requisite in so high an argument; but must rest contented or discontented with a goodly assortment of 'les grands mots qui epouvantent l'oreille.'

In his discourse on Providence, the author says,

—'he had shown that morality was founded upon our knowledge of the perfections of God, upon our knowledge of the perfections of a

Master, whose eyes are too pure to bear the sight of evil.' Vol. I. p. 65.

This, however, is more, we apprehend, than the author had shown, or could show. The acknowledgment of *any perfections* in the Divine nature, and consequently of the existence of a good principle and of a Providence, implies a power of moral discrimination already existing in the human mind. This moral faculty cannot therefore be said to be *founded* upon our knowledge of the perfections of a God. On the contrary, it is only by attending to our own moral perceptions that we can form a conception of what the Divine attributes are; and nothing is more plain, than that, without such a power in ourselves, we could not distinguish perfection from imperfection. We willingly admit, indeed, that our belief in a God, in a superintending Providence, and in the other salutary doctrines inculcated by scripture, or suggested by reason, yields consistency and great additional strength to our moral perceptions; but it cannot be urged that these perceptions are founded upon that belief. Although external objects exist independently of our senses, yet, without these senses, they would have no existence for our minds.

M. Necker proceeds to one of the most important of all doctrines, the immortality of the human soul. He divides his proofs into two heads: 1. Those which arise from the perfections of the Divine Being; and, 2. Those which refer to the nature of the soul itself (vol I. p. 97.) Neither of these is systematically followed out, nor indeed illustrated by any reasoning which deserves attention. He seems, however, to have forgotten this twofold division in p. 120, where we find him saying—

'The nature of our mind (*esprit*), the mystery of our conscience, the involuntary homage we pay to moral ideas, the frequent oppression and misery of good men, and, above all, the goodness, wisdom, and infinite power of the Supreme Being; these are the considerations which support our hope in the precious doctrine of the immortality of the soul.' Vol. I. p. 97.

The arguments deducible from the nature of the mind itself, are not stated by our author in any order, or urged with any ingenuity. There is no topic, indeed, upon which he appears to less advantage, although it seems to have been his favourite speculation. Instead of dwelling upon our natural desire of immortality, the feelings of remorse, the progressive improvement of our faculties, or the analogy of the material world, M. Necker confines himself, in a great measure, to the negative argument derived from the immateriality of the soul, and to another argument, which is of so singular a nature that we must lay it be-

fore our readers in M Necker's own words. He very properly calls it new, and announces it in this elegant sentence :

'Meanwhile, it is our duty to present you with a new motive of hope. We still search for it, and we still find it in ourselves, in this sublime nature, where so many phænomena are re-united, and where we distinguish the impression of the Divine seal, better than in any other of its (nature's) magnificent conceptions. *We love!*—we know —we desire to love!' Vol. i. p. 120.

He goes on in this rapturous strain for a very long while, and uses many high-sounding sentences to shew that the power of loving is a pledge and proof of immortality. Then he asks,

'Is not this sentiment, which transports us into a beloved object, and which places in it all our interests—is it not the image of a second life? Is it not the symbol of our continuity with a new essence? Vol. i. p. 122.

This argument is certainly entitled to the praise of novelty. We cannot easily determine, indeed, whether it has been exceeded, in point of puerility, by any former argument on a serious subject. But it is not only to those who have had lawful opportunities of loving in this world, that the benefits of this new argument are to be extended. The humane preacher is pleased, very politely, to assure old batchelors and old maids, that they too shall have their share in it.

'Ah! Ye also have similar vows to make—ye tender friends, loving souls, and who have never been able to find on earth an associate worthy of the delicacy of your sentiments, console yourselves; live in hope; there will be for you a futurity, in which the perfection of your nature shall find its counterpart.' Vol. i. p. 126.

If we turn from the author's reasoning to his style, we shall find that they are both equally desultory and unsuitable to the purposes of grave and manly instruction. In the beginning of a sermon upon Death, for instance, we have a specimen of his manner of introducing himself to his audience.

'Death! Death! What a name I am pronouncing! Death! All flies, all disappears before it. What a dismal and terrible image am I about to offer to your thoughts! The spring has painted our fields, the earth is adorned with new splendour, the flowers, the plants, the bushes, our gardens, our meadows, all is animated—all is embellished! Death! and shall you,' &c. Vol. iii. p. 152.

What shall we say of this introduction to a serious sermon upon Death, by an aged philosopher and man of the world? One would almost be tempted to reply to the boyish preacher, in the language of Malherbe,

'La Mort a des rigueurs à nulle autre pareilles;
On a beau la prier;
La cruelle qu'elle est, se bouche les oreilles,
Et nous laisse crier.'

In truth, the greater part of the discourses, we are afraid, will be deemed, by severe critics, mere common-place sermons; remarkable for nothing but an unusual quantity of truisms, silly exclamations, barren thoughts, entangled with metaphysical sophistries, and hyperbolical phrases, beyond even the present puerile style of French declamation.

It is unpleasant to dwell on the omissions or absurdities of a well-disposed man; and more particularly in cases where he professes to promote the cause of good order, religion and morality; but it is a duty to rescue that venerable cause out of the hands of unskilful advocates, and to point out to others the untenable posts in which they were defeated: *Quid enim tam necessarium quam tenere semper arma, quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis, vel provocare integros, vel te ulcisci lacessitus?* Whether men contend with the weapons of argument or of steel, judgment and arrangement are equally indispensable; and in both cases it may be truly said, that an open enemy is less to be dreaded, while standing in the hostile ranks, than a cowardly or undisciplined friend in our own. M. Necker, by his injudicious disputations, has exposed to the scorn of every sneerer, his arguments from reason, on the very important doctrines of 'The Existence of a God;' 'The Foundation of Morals;' and the 'Immortality of the Human Soul.' We do not know that religion could have been more injured, by a direct attack upon the evidences of revelation.

While, however, we regret that M. Necker should have wasted so much of his time in writing sermons; and while we condemn his declamatory style, and reprobate his unphilosophical reasonings, we acknowledge, with pleasure, that some detached passages have renewed our old feelings for '*the honest man, and the man of virtue and genius.*'* If his sentiments are not always expressed with the precision, arrangement, and accuracy, which we might expect from a regularly trained preacher, or even from an accomplished financier and statesman, like Necker; yet they are always amiable and humane Humanity is the characteristic of his writings; and it is impressed on all the sermons contained in these volumes. The eloquence and spirit of the following passage claim our respect.

'They, (the violent revolutionists of France,) they have made of merit a subject of proscription; of the laws, an instrument of hatred:

* *Vide* Gibbon's Posthumous Works. 4to. Vol. I. p. 213. 222.

of Equality, a preparation for tyranny; of the word Liberty, the badge of slavery; of maxims of morality, a language of hypocrisy; of religion, an insult to the Supreme Being; and of the purest blood, the most execrable orgies. Political passions, how terrible ye are! Nothing restrains you; nothing retards your impetuosity; and you reckon the lives of men but a trifling sacrifice for the object which you wish to attain. Listen to those orators, who, with hands reeking in blood, would inspire a whole nation with their own destroying fury! One said, we cannot offer too many victims to Liberty; another said, too many cannot be sacrificed to Equality; another, to the principles of the rights of man; another, to the mystic dogma of the sovereignty of the people; and, finally, another professing, from lips foaming with rage, the love with which he feels himself inflamed for posterity, will sacrifice to this pretended love, to this hypocrital sentiment, every individual of his contemporaries.' Vol. i. p. 138.

Nor is it merely in such descriptions, and in the reprobation of revolutionary and political violence, 'quorum pars magna fuit,' that M. Necker is lively and interesting. There is something very touching in the following description of the concluding scene of a young soldier's life:

'Alas, had you seen those young men, ye tender fathers, ye affectionate mothers! Behold your sons thrown down, and lying trampled in the dust by the hoofs of their comrades' horses; left bleeding amidst furious squadrons, who pay no attention to their groans: carried at last to hospitals, where the numbers of the wounded render assistance impracticable; where novices in surgery serve the apprenticeship of their art, amidst hurry and interruption, and the agonizing cries of their unhappy patients. Your miserable son wishes he had perished on the field of battle; regrets the fond tenderness you showed him in infancy: he remembers the last embraces of the authors of his being; he looks about him, and sees, in the moment that remains of life, the mutilitated limbs of his companions scattered around—and that his own grave is preparing.' Vol. i. p. 153.

If M. Necker deserves the censure which has been sometimes passed upon him as a flatterer of the French nation or government, it is not, at least in the following passage:

'Ah, let us respect the opinions of other nations, not in order to grieve us, but to support our wisdom and our modesty: Let us give no cause to this reproach fixed on us by some. You wished to dictate laws to the universe, and you cannot regulate your own domestic concerns: You wished to give plans of government to all nations, and your own plan, full of the greatest errors and imperfections, is an inexhaustible source of factions. You have indeed shewn yourselves abroad as roaring lions, but you have been miserably tame at home, and you

crouch under the rod of despotism: You have already called yourselves the *Great Nation*, and you see no other people disputing this title: But the extent of a country, and the number of its soldiers, may strike its neighbours with terror without creating respect.' Vol. i, p. 281.

The following passage describes, in a natural way, the feelings of a man of nice sensibility, immediately upon his fall from a station of high rank and power. To these feelings M. Necker was no stranger: and we pity his misery, when he answered Mr. Gibbon—'dans l'état où je suis, je ne puis sentir que le coup de vent qui m'a abbâtu.'

'It is to you I address myself—ye who were lately in possession of the surest means of pleasing, and of captivating men. You were believed to stand on the summit of authority; through you every favour was dispensed: You were objects of universal pursuit and attachment; when, all at once, fortune overturned your pedestal: You are cast down into the crowd—you have neither rank, nor credit, nor power! How do your friends, even your real friends, then act?—They come around you, condole with you, and perhaps redouble their cares and attentions—but there is a correctness in their care, an attentiveness in their manner, and a measured proceeding in all their conduct. They delicately conceal the idea they have of their generosity towards you: meanwhile, you yourself either discover or suspect it; and you are stung to the soul. You are conscious, that, in the eyes, even of friendship, a change has taken place in you—and that you must take care to be cautiously discreet. Sad discovery!' &c. Vol. ii. p. 17.

Of M. Necker's present work, the most useful part, in our opinion, is that which treats of irreligious systems. He dwells at considerable length on the formidable arguments against Christianity, which are supplied by the absurdities and crimes of its professors. His endeavours to prove, that the abuses of that humane system do not militate either against its beneficent tendency, or its actual good effects, are not destitute of ingenuity. He had associated long and intimately with free thinkers, and knew the objections to the Gospel, which they urged with most triumph and most baneful effects on the minds of the young. These he combats with some energy; and he persuades his readers to the reception of Evangelical morality with affectionate earnestness.

'The exaggeration and the abuse of useful truths, can exist only until these truths are proscribed or brought into discredit—but when a poisonous plant attaches itself to a tree which yields abundance of good fruit and shelter, is it the tree we are to extirpate?' Vol iii. p. 262.

We might select many other respectable passages from the work before us; but those already quoted, are a sufficient specimen of

M Necker's pulpit eloquence. The sermons seem to have cost him little trouble: indeed we were sometimes tempted to believe that he has only lent his name, or partial aid, to an inferior performer. But whether this be the case, or that M. Necker has written *invitâ Minervâ*, certain it is, that the discourses before us, while they evidently appear to proceed from the best intentions, and although they contain some scattered fragments of argument and of eloquence, betray a grievous decline of judgment, perspicacity, and logical discrimination, in their responsible author. We do not hesitate to warn young persons against a partiality for such flimsy compositions. They are very much in the present fashionable and false continental style. An imperfect view of the system of religion is given; and, instead of a sober elucidation of the evidence upon which it rests, or a persuasive enforcement of the moral duties which it recommends, we have exclamations and loud assertions, and strainings after sublimity and pathos, that excite the ridicule of the prophane, and the regret or disgust of the pious.

This manner of preaching may, like the present terrific mode of novel writing, rouse the curiosity of the idle; but it can neither remove doubt, nor influence conduct: And those who place confidence in the course of religious morality published by M Necker, in the hope that it can enlighten their reason, or fortify their faith, will soon join in the candid and mortifying confession—

> 'A peine, du limon où le vice m'engage
> J'arrache un pied timide et sors en m'agitant,
> Que l'autre m'y reporte et s'embourbe à l'instant.'

ART. IX. *A New Anatomical Nomenclature, relating to the Terms which are expressive of Position and Aspect in the Animal System.* By John Barclay, M. D Lecturer on Anatomy and Honorary Member of the Royal Physical Society, Edinburgh. Longman & Rees, London. 8vo. pp. 182. 1803.

A CHANGE in the language of any science, is rendered necessary, either by the sudden acquisition of new information with respect to its fundamental truths, or by the gradual accumulation of various dialects, partly founded upon theories, partly derived from accidental peculiarities in the situation of discoverers, and the consequent introduction of ambiguity and error. Both these circumstances concurred to warrant the great and beneficial alteration which the nomenclature of chemistry has lately undergone; but it is in the latter, only, that the necessity of a new anatomical vocabulary can be found.

The purposes to which a systematic plan of nomenclature is subservient, are threefold: It adds to the regularity and beauty of the science; it facilitates the business of instruction; and it assists us in the discovery of new truths. Upon each of these distinct objects, a few preliminary remarks may be permitted, as leading to an illustration of the principles on which all such schemes as the one now before us ought to proceed.

The pleasure derived from the contemplation of abstract relations, forms by far the greatest part of the inducement to scientific research. There is unquestionably a delightful sensation in the discovery of resemblances that are unexpected and not easily perceived—a sensation entirely unconnected with any view to the useful consequences which may be deduced from the knowledge of the new truth. The perception of the relation between the hypothenuse and the sides of a right angled triangle, is as agreeable to the mind, as the knowledge that, by this celebrated discovery, we are enabled to guide the course of a ship in the pathless ocean. Nay, the perception of unexpected practical utility itself, is pleasing to those who have neither any chance of receiving the benefit, nor any capacity to sympathise with others. A man who studies the laws of the celestial motions, seldom thinks of the ultimate advantages to which his inquiries may lead—the construction of tables useful to the navigator. He is satisfied, that he discovers the certainty of a simple and easily comprehended relation, which was not previously supposed to exist.

One great merit of such discoveries, then, is the neatness of the form in which they are capable of being presented to the mind. This is, indeed, the greatest excellence of any scientific proposition, if we except the apparent dissimilarity of the objects compared. No pleasure would be derived from a demonstration, however clear, that the three angles of a triangle, if each of them is two thirds of a right angle, are, together, equal to two right angles. The identity is here too obvious, and the discovery of it could give no satisfaction, unless to beings of faculties much more dull than the human. But it would be equally impossible for us to derive any great pleasure from the enunciation of a proposition, however general, in which a relation is affirmed, after a variety of assumptions, and new definitions, and previous demonstrations of lemmas. We might be reconciled to the labour of following such a chain of reasoning, by the idea, that it ultimately led to consequences of practical importance; but, for its own sake, we should certainly feel little interest in the discovery. This neatness, or conciseness and simplicity, with which we can enunciate and demonstrate a truth, surprising either by its generality, or the number of the steps required for reaching it, constitutes what is

called the elegance of any scientific discovery; and the elegance of a system is, in like manner, the regularity with which its departments are ordered, and the similarity of their connexions with the fundamental principles. The concise and simple expression of this regularity, in the structure of the language appropriated to describe and enumerate those various parts, is productive of the same satisfaction, and completes the agreeable uniformity; while it enables us to enjoy the same kind of pleasure in scientific details, that we receive from beauty of style in works of imagination. The pleasure derived from mathematical speculations, is surely in a great measure owing to the simplicity and uniformity of the nomenclature which the science of necessary truth employs. The higher geometry, for instance, would cease to present us with so many interesting objects of contemplation, if the analogous parts of different curve lines were known by different names, and parts entirely dissimilar were, from certain insulated cases of coincidence, permanently confounded under the same appellations; if *(e. g.)* the assymptote were sometimes denominated the focus, or if the tangents of whole orders of lines were called secants, because those of some curves cut the arcs which they do not touch. The pleasure derived from the study of modern chemistry, is in the same manner, augmented by the systematic nature of the new language. With all its faults, that language does not confound simple and compound bodies, nor distinguish substances entirely analogous. Many of its terms have indeed been objected to as changes too violent, upon words meant to denote ideas of very frequent recurrence. Thus, we are told that common salt is a better name than muriate of soda; and surely in the same manner, *round* would, in ordinary life, be a more convenient, because a more familiar expression than *circular*, and *oval* than *elliptical*. But if the other compound salts are distinguished by the union of terms denoting their component parts; an agreeable uniformity, in a scientific point of view, results from the extension of the same principle of nomenclature to that salt which is most commonly used, although it may retain its old name on ordinary occasions; just as it is more agreeable to denominate the ellipsis from the property analogous to those of the other conic sections, although, in common life, we give it a name derived from the elliptical body most frequently met with; and to talk of the ordinates and assymptote of a conchoid, although masons speak only of the diameter and shaft of a column. In short, all science consists of classification; and the plans now under consideration, are founded upon verbal arrangement, while they keep the classification of ideas constantly in view.

But, great as the use of a systematic nomenclature is, in promoting the most important end of all speculative pursuits—the abstract pleasure of contemplation, its advantages are still more apparent in facilitating the acquisition of knowledge. The learner has in fact only to fix in his memory the few leading principles of the language, and he can from thence easily deduce the particulars of the vocabulary. He has thus at least one general medium of connexion, one species of assistance to the recollection of the subordinate relations, which he may afterwards learn, between the things signified, over and above those other helps which are common to all kinds of nomenclature. It may, however, be remarked, that where the objects of discussion are of constant occurrence, and are necessarily known by their vulgar names long before the student has occasion to view them in a scientific light, the systematic nomenclature throws some little difficulty in his way. If the great body of instruction, too, is only to be found in authors who have used an irregular language, the acquisition of the science, by means of the new-modelled nomenclature, may render that instruction inaccessible or at least create the necessity of a double labour in the acquisition of terms. The science of anatomy is in this predicament; and Dr. Barclay has therefore proceeded much more cautiously in proposing alterations, than the French chemists found it necessary to do in changing the nomenclature of a science which had itself undergone so sudden a revolution. The new system of *measures* seems fated to experience unsurmountable opposition, for this very reason. It may be possible, after learning chemistry or anatomy in a new language, to acquire the synonymes of the old: But, as no human memory can retain the combinations of numerals the whole systems of preceding calculators must either be utterly useless, or they must be wrought over again upon the new principles.

It is by no means necessary, for the assistance of the learner, that the name of an object should be descriptive. On the contrary, if we consider how often descriptions proceed upon theory, and how seldom they apply distinctly, we shall be inclined rather to pronounce, that the framers of a scientific language should take the other extreme; and instead of always attempting to denominate an object by its peculiarities, should distinguish it by its known relations to other objects, making the roots of the whole insignificant words, or words in vulgar use. The French chemists have been singularly unfortunate in their choice of roots, however excellent their principles of combination. Although we know only of one species of air which can either support animal life or flame, they have named it by another property, which it does not appear to possess exclusively. And they have distinguish-

ed another species by the quality of destroying animal life, although this is by far the most ordinary property of the gases. In the same manner, they have rejected the term *inflammable air*, and substituted one which describes a quality not peculiar to a single gas. A variety of other objections to the descriptive method adopted in the chemical nomenclature, will immediately occur to our readers. But, in fact, whatever terms may be used as the foundation of any nomenclature, the derivation soon ceases to be thought of. No chemist when he uses the word azote, ever stops to consider how fatal that substance is to the lungs. The material point is to have the combinations uniform, and, where it is possible, to choose such radical words as are in common acceptation; or, if new ones must be coined, to adopt such as are easily remembered; and to proceed in the choice upon no hypothetical principles. The scheme proposed by Dr. Barclay meets with our approbation, in proportion as he appears to have been guided by a regard to such considerations. The following remarks upon the nomenclature of the muscles, suggest instances in the old language of Anatomy exactly parallel to those which we have taken from the new French system.

'Some names are a kind of descriptions, pretending to explain uses and functions, which those who imposed them did not understand In all cases these descriptions are extremely imperfect; often are false: and should we credulously receive them as complete, and proceed to reason upon them as data, they must always lead to erroneous conclusions. On this principle, some muscles are named pronators and supinators of the radius; some flexors and extensors of the carpus; as if these were the only muscles concerned in performing such movements. Now, every anatomist certainly knows, that all the digital flexors and extensors that arise from the humerus, or fore-arm, must likewise be flexors and extensors of the carpus; that the sublimis, the radical flexor, and palmaris longus, assist in pronation; that the supinator radii longus brings the arm to the middle position, between pronation and supination, and then acts as a flexor of the fore-arm; that the biceps, attached to the scapula and radius, is an extensor of the humerus, a flexor of the radius, and one of the most powerful of its supinators; while other muscles, as the extensor tertii internodii pollicis, although indirectly, occasionally assists it, in that office. From the variety, therefore, of functions, in which muscles attached to the bones are usually concerned, every name imposed with a view to denote these functions, must either be uncommonly long, or extremely imperfect, with regard to description.' p. 11. 12.

The last great use of a systematic nomenclature—the promotion of new inquiry, is too obvious to require any illustration. Whatever contrivance simplifies our vocabulary, must of course leave

the mind more at leisure for the comparison of ideas. A systematic language actually saves, in every process of reasoning, a variety of steps. These steps were gone through by the inventor of the general method, for all the subordinate cases; and the inquirer, who wishes to carry the detail farther than his predecessors have done, needs only carry on the application. What, in fact, was the grand change effected upon geometry, by Des Cartes, but the introduction of a new and general nomenclature into that science?

In the introduction to the work now before us, Dr. Barclay points out, at some length, the various evils arising from the ambiguity of the terms at present used in anatomical description; and offers some very judicious remarks upon the plans of improvement proposed by other authors. We extract the following observations, on the scheme of Dumas, to name the nerves from their origin and termination, as a very favourable specimen of our author's acuteness, and talent for illustration.

'He proposes to distinguish the trunk (of the olfactory nerve) by the term *striato-narinal;* the division which terminates at the ethmoidal bone, by the term *striato-narinal-ethmoidien;* and the part which is ramified on the petuitary membrane, by the term *striato-narinal-pituitaire.* This tiresome repetition of the name of the trunk, in the names of all the divisions and branches, would not only be exceedingly cumbrous, but unnecessary. In the system of Linnæus, man belongs to the genus *homo,* to the order of *primates,* and the class of *mammalia:* but did it ever enter the mind of that naturalist to suppose that the genus would be better expressed by the term *mammale primas homo,* than by simple *homo* taken by itself? A name is one thing, classification another, and description a third. From not making this necessary distinction, Dumas, in trying to impose names, is constantly labouring at a sort of classification and description; so that his descriptions are often bad names, and his names more frequently worse descriptions.' p. 31. 32.

Before entering upon the immediate subject of the Essay, Dr. Barclay discusses the general topic of Language, its kinds and changes, at a length perhaps somewhat unnecessary. The object of these preliminary chapters is to illustrate the intimate connexion between spoken and written language, and to enumerate the various circumstances which render both subject to perpetual fluctuations.

The third chapter is employed in shewing, that the language of science should be distinct from that of the people; and the fourth contains our author's general ideas upon the changes of anatomical nomenclature.

The three last chapters are occupied with a detail of the changes which he recommends.

The following is a general outline of his plan.

In describing the vertebral column, anatomists call the bone nearest to the head the *atlas*, and the mass of vertebræ at the opposite extremity, *the sacrum*. In systematic connexion, these occupy corresponding regions, in all animals in which they are found. Dr. Barclay therefore proposes the words *atlantal* and *sacral*, instead of *superior* and *inferior*. Instead of the words *anterior* and *posterior*, which are used to express the breast and the back in all animals, the terms *sternal* and *dorsal* are suggested. The words *dermal* and *central*, denoting what points to the skin, and what to the centre, or *peripheral* and *central*, when speaking of an organ, are substituted for *external* and *internal*, when they signify what is superficial and deep. When they are employed to express the side or middle of a surface, suppose a plane to pass along the middle of the neck, the mediastinum and linea alba, and to divide the neck and trunk into similar halves, from the sternum to the dorsum, and let this plane be denominated *mesion*; the words *lateral* and *mesial* will, in such a case, convey the meaning of external and internal. *Right* and *left* might still denote the lateral parts of the trunk, but *dextral* and *sinistral* are thought preferable, for the reasons assigned in the general observations on language.

Much ambiguity has arisen, from using the words *right* and *left*, *anterior* and *posterior*, in describing the different parts of the heart. To avoid these inaccuracies, Dr. Barclay proposes to divide the vascular system into two parts; to call one *systemic*, the other *pulmonic*; expressing by the former term, all those vessels, whether arteries or veins, which convey the blood from the lungs to the different parts of the body; and by the latter, those vessels which convey the blood from the system at large to the lungs. Thus the pulmonary veins, the left sinus auricle and ventricle of the heart, with the *aorta* and all its branches, will be called *systemic*; while the bronchial veins, the veins of the head, heart, trunk, and extremities, the right sinus, auricle, and ventricle, circling the pulmonary artery and its branches, will be distinguished by the epithet *pulmonic*.

Besides removing ambiguity, says our author, another advantage that naturally arises from this change in the nomenclature is, that instead of being obliged to enumerate the vessels in which the purple or the vermilion blood is contained, we may say at once that the purple is contained in all the *pulmonic* vessels, and the vermilion in all the *systemic*, whether veins or arteries.

The extremities are to be distinguished by epithets borrowed from the regions of the trunk with which they are connected; the *superior* called *atlantal*, and the *inferior*, *sacral*. It is proposed to distinguish the ends of these bones by the terms *proximal* and *distal*, according as they are near to, or at a distance from, the trunk. The *atlantal* extremities again are subdivided into *radial* and *ulnar*, to signify the two lateral parts, and into *anconal* and *thenal*, to express the other two sides.

Dr. Barclay next proceeds to show, how a similar division and arrangement may be applied to the *sacral* extremities.

These new terms, in general, are entitled to the praise of great clearness and simplicity, though we are inclined to doubt the possibility of bringing them into general use. If there be any of this new nomenclature, considered as a theory, in which we should be inclined to dissent from the author, it is that which relates to the vascular system. The division of the circulation into two parts is judicious: and *Bichat* (*tom. 2. Anatomie Generale*) we find has made a division, in all its essential parts, precisely the same; and has alleged similar reasons for making such an alteration. This coincidence may be considered as fortunate, while it shews the propriety of making some change. The few objections that we have to make, are to the terms *systemic* and *pulmonic*, which do not appear so happily chosen, as the others which Dr. Barclay has suggested. These terms, when applied to the heart alone, express distinctly the two different parts, the auricles and ventricles, in man, and the mammalia: but when they are extended to the other parts of the system, and to the lower animals, ambiguity seems likely to arise. In the first place, it may be remarked, that the centre of circulation is made to rest in the lungs, and not in the heart, as hitherto supposed. This is implied, by the new words, which express the carrying the blood from the lungs to the system, and returning it to the lungs from the system at large. Now, the circulation of the blood differs according to the different structure of the heart, and the organs of respiration, in different animals. In the amphibia, and in fishes, the heart has only one ventricle and one auricle; and in insects, and some of the vermes, only a ventricle, and no auricle. Indeed, our author remarks, 'that the vessels of their lungs (the amphibia), in some measure correspond in function to our bronchials; and that their blood, undergoing a change from the action of the air, is entirely confined to systemic veins.' (p. 124.) Hence it appears, that there is no foundation for this distinction into two sets of vessels, named with reference to their lungs, which in these animals have a small share in the circulation, and in insects and the vermes still

less, where the blood undergoes some salutary changes from the *spiracula*, which are extended over all parts of their bodies. It may be said, that these terms are not intended for the amphibia, or cold-blooded animals, but are calculated to express the difference between them and animals with warm blood. But is not this in direct opposition to the plan and intention of the author, who proposes to adopt terms which will admit of a general application to all parts of the animal kingdom?

Some difficulty strikes us, when we apply these new terms to the *fœtus in utero*. In this case, the right auricle and ventricle must be called both pulmonic and systemic; because the auricle sends some of its blood through the *foramen ovale*, and the ventricle through the *ductus arteriosus*, to the system at large. To any one already acquainted with the difference between the circulation in the fœtus and the adult, this may appear intelligible; but it does not seem calculated to simplify the description of this intricate part of anatomy, or to render it more easily comprehended by young students. The vessels which convey blood from the lungs to the system at large, form but an inconsiderable part of the circulation in the fœtus, and therefore deserve not the title of systemic, according to the definition which is given. The *umbilical vein* would rather lay claim to this epithet, as it carries blood of a red colour, after it has undergone some necessary changes in the *placenta*. The *vena portæ*, too, will be both a systemic and pulmonic vessel; because it serves indirectly to convey the blood from the lungs to the liver, for a purpose very important to the system at large, the secretion of the bile; while, at the same time, it conveys a considerable portion of blood from the abdominal viscera to the lungs. It may be objected, that the *hepatic artery* is the systemic vessel of the liver; but the relative offices of this artery, and the *vena portæ*, are not yet so well understood, as to lead us to such a distinction.

Where the etymology of a word will assist in explaining the situation or function of any part, it ought surely to be preferred. For although the technical meaning may be determined by a definition, yet it is difficult to divest ourselves of the idea which the etymology conveys. Thus, to talk of the *pulmonic* vessels of the leg and arm, must appear strange to any one who had ever heard of the vessels of the heart and lungs which have received that name. No reason is alleged for making the particular term *pulmonic* a general one, or for rendering a word particular, whose strict meaning is general. All the vessels of the body might be called *systemic*, as forming a part of the whole system; but few of them can properly be termed *pulmonic*, because a small number only belong to the lungs. Perhaps it would have been better to have suggested two new terms, which had never been in use, if any new

terms are necessary, for expressing the arterial and venous circulation. But it has been already observed, that no alterations in names should be made, unless absolutely required; since nothing impedes the diffusion of knowledge more, than the multiplicity of technical terms, and variety of nomenclature. Therefore, we humbly conceive, as the terms *systemic* and *pulmonic* do not admit of general application to all the lower animals; as they appear to involve some ambiguity in their etymological sense; and as they do not promise any great advantages from their use, they ought not to be adopted, to the exclusion of those well-known terms, the arteries and veins.

After having given this general sketch of Dr. Barclay's Essay, we shall not detain our readers by following him through all his other curious and interesting remarks, on several miscellaneous subjects. He suggests new terms for describing the head and face in different animals, which appear extremely correct and satisfactory. By slight changes in the termination of the new words, they are made to express, clearly and accurately, all the necessary modifications of which their general meaning is susceptible. When they end in *al* or *an*, they denote simply position or aspect: by changing their termination into *en*, they express a different sort of connection, and when they end in *ad*, they are used adverbially. Sound is a quality much less important than sense; yet it is not wholly to be disregarded. Some persons may therefore be offended by the cacophony produced by words with such harsh terminations. Examples may indeed be adduced from the Greek, French, and German languages, in favour of words terminating in *en* and *ad*; but it must be remembered, that the harshness is here softened by the pronunciation, or by the arrangement which their inversions allow. In our own language, some of these terminations may be found; but these are chiefly in monosyllables, or in the participles of some verbs. These objections can be of no weight to technical terms; and if they are found sufficiently expressive, the ear and the vocal organs will soon be reconciled to their use. For various illustrations of the different suggestions that have been noticed in this outline, we must refer to the work itself; which contains also some plates, with the new artificial signs marked upon the skeleton, to exhibit more concisely their meaning and design.

With regard to the style of Dr Barclay's tract, it is upon the whole sufficiently perspicuous; though perhaps, in several respects, somewhat more adorned, and even a little more learned, than the nature of the subject required.—A few inaccuracies have arrested our eye in a work upon language. *Vocables* (page 93), is

neither French nor English. *Nomenclaturing* (page 109), is likewise a new word. In page 142, *will* is twice used for *shall*. And we scarcely approve of *medtums* (page 97), and *craniums* (page 147).

ART. X. *Amadis de Gaul. By Vasco Lobeyra. From the Spanish Version of Garciordonez de Montalvo.* By Robert Southey. Four Volumes 12mo. London.

Amadis de Gaul: A Poem, in Three Books. Freely translated from the First Part of the French Version of Nicolas de Herberay, Sieur des Essars. With Notes, by William Stewart Rose, Esq. 12mo. London.

THE fame of Amadis de Gaul has reached to the present day, and has indeed become almost provincial in most languages of Europe. But this distinction has been attained rather in a mortifying manner: for the hero seems much less indebted for his present renown to his historians, Lobeira, Montalvo, and Herberay, than to Cervantes, who selected their labours, as one of the best known books of Chivalry, and therefore the most prominent object for his ridicule. In this case, as in many others, the renown of the victor has carried down to posterity the memory of the vanquished; and, excepting the few students of black letter, we believe no reader is acquainted with Amadis de Gaul, otherwise than as the prototype of Don Quixotte de la Mancha. But the ancient knight seems now in a fair way of being rescued from this degrading state of notoriety, and of once more resuming a claim to public notice upon his own proper merits; having, with singular good fortune, engaged in his cause two such authors as Mr. Southey and Mr Rose. As the subject of the two articles before us, is in fact the same, we shall adopt the prose version of Mr. Southey, as forming the fullest text for the general commentaries which we have to offer; reserving till the conclusion, the particular remarks which occur to us upon Mr. Rose's poem.

Mr. Southey has prefixed to his translation certain preliminary notices, which, by an odd and rather affected arrangement, he has split into sections or chapters, numbered 1st, 2d, 3d, &c.; a division which is the more arbitrary, as no titles are given to these sections. Many readers, thus left to conjecture the causes and purpose of the arrangement, must find themselves at a loss; and we readily confess ourselves to be of the number: for an un-

broken inquiry respecting the author of Amadis, occupies most of the paragraphs thus unnecessarily detached from each other. This inquiry, particularly connected as it stands with the history of romance in general, has claim to our peculiar attention.

The earliest copy of Amadis de Gaul, now known to exist, is the Spanish edition of Garcia Ordognez de Montalvo, which is used by Mr. Southey in his translation. Montalvo professes, in general terms, to have revised and corrected this celebrated work from the ancient authorities. He is supposed principally to have used the version of Vasco de Lobeira, a Portuguese knight who died in the beginning of the 15th century. But a dispute has arisen, whether even Lobeira can justly claim the merit of being the original author of this famous and interesting romance. Nicolas de Herberay, who translated Montalvo's work into French in 1575, asserts positively, that it was originally written in that language; and adds this remarkable passage: *J'en ay trouvé encores quelques reste d'un vieil livre escrit à la main en langage Picard, sur lequel j'estime que les Espagnols ont fait leur traduction, non pas de tout suyvant le vrai original, comme l'on pourra veoir par cestuy, car ilz en ont obmis en aucuns endroits et augmenté aux autres.*' Mr. Southey, however, setting totally aside the evidence of Herberay, as well as of Monsieur de Tressan, who also affirms the existence of a Picard original of Amadis, is decidedly of opinion, that Vasco de Lobeira was the original author. It is with some hesitation that we venture to differ from Mr. Southey, knowing, as we well know, that his acquaintance with the Portuguese literature entitles him to considerable deference in such an argument: yet, viewing the matter on the proofs he has produced, and considering also the general history and progress of romantic composition, we incline strongly to think with Mr. Rose, that the story of Amadis is originally of French extraction.

The earliest tales of romance which are known to us, are uniformly in verse; and this was very natural; for they were in a great measure the composition of the minstrels, who gained their livelihood by chanting and reciting them. This is peculiarly true of the French minstrels, as appears from the well known quotation of Du Cangé from the Romance of Du Guesclin, where the champions of romantic fiction are enumerated as the subject of their lays.

'——————————Rollans
Les quatre fils Haimon, et Charlon li plus grans
Li dus Lions de Bourges, et Gulon de Connans
Perceval li Galois, Lancelot, et Tristans
Alexandre, Artus, Godefroi li sachans
De quoy cils menestriers font les nobles romans.'

There are but very few prose books of chivalry in the world, which are not either still extant, or are at least known to have existed originally in the form of metrical romances. The very name by which such compositions are distinguished, is derived from the *romance* or corrupted Latin employed by the minstrels, and long signified any history or fable narrated in vulgar poetry. It would be almost endless to cite examples of this proposition. The Tales of Arthur and his Round Table, by far the most fertile source of the romances of chivalry, are all known to have existed as metrical compositions long before the publication of the prose folios on the same subject. These poems the minstrels used to chant at solemn festivals: nor was it till the decay of that extraordinary profession that romances in prose were substituted for their lays. The invention of printing hastened the declension of poetical romance. The sort of poetry employed by the minstrels, differed only from prose in being more easily retained by the memory; but when copies were readily and cheaply multiplied by means of the press, the exertion of recollection became unnecessary.

As early as the fifteenth century, numerous prose versions of the most celebrated romances were executed in France and England, which were printed in the course of the sixteenth. These works are now become extremely rare. Mr. Southey attributes this to their great popularity. But if their popularity lasted, as he supposes, till they were worn out by repeated perusal, the printers would have found their advantage in supplying the public with new editions. The truth is, that the editions first published of these expensive folio romances were very small. Abridgments and extracts served the purpose of the vulgar. Meanwhile, the taste of the great took another turn; and the books of chivalry disappeared, in consequence of the neglect and indifference of their owners. More than a century elapsed betwixt their being read for amusement, and sought for as curiosities; and such a lapse of time would render any work scarce, were the editions as numerous as those of the Pilgrim's Progress.

To return to our subject—It appears highly probable to us, that Lobeira's prose Amadis was preceded by a metrical romance, according to the general progress which we observe in the history of similar productions

Another general remark authorises the same conclusion. It is well known that the romances of the middle ages were not announced to the hearers as works of mere imagination. On the contrary they were always affirmed by the narrators to be matter of historical fact; nor was this disputed by the simplicity of the audience. The gallant knights and lovely dames, for whose delight these romances were composed and sung, were neither

shocked by the incongruities of the work, nor the marvellous turn of the adventures. Some old tradition was adopted for the subject of the tale; favourite and well known names were introduced An air of authenticity was thus obtained; the prejudices of the audience conciliated; and the feudal baron believed as firmly in the exploits of Roland and Oliver, as a sturdy Celt of our day in the equally sophisticated poems of Ossian — Hence, the grand sources of romantic fiction have been traced to the Brut of Maister Wace, himself a translator of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who put into form the traditions of the bards of Wales and Armorica; to the fabulous history of Turpin, from which sprung the numerous romances of Charlemagne and his twelve Peers; and, finally, to the siege of Troy, as narrated by Dares Phrygius, and to the exploits of Alexander. Other and later heroes became also the subject of Romance. Such were William of Orange, called *Short nose*, Richard of Normandy, Ralph Blundeville Earl of Chester, Richard Cœur de Lion, Robert the Bruce, Bertrand du Guesclin, &c &c. The barons also, before whom these tales were recited, were often flattered by a fabulous genealogy which deduced their pedigree from some hero of the story. A peer of England, the Duke of Buckingham, if we recollect aright, conceited himself to be descended of the doughty Knight of the Swan; and, what is somewhat to our present purpose, the French family of Bonneau deduce their pedigree from Dariolette, the complaisant confidant of Elisene, mother to Amadis.—*See Mr. Rose's work*, p. 52.

A Portuguese minstrel would therefore have erred grossly in choosing for his subject a palpable and absolute fiction, in which he could derive no favour from the partialities and preconceived opinions of those whose applause he was ambitious to gain. But if we suppose Amadis to have been the exclusive composition of Lobeira, we must suppose him to have invented a story, not only altogether unconnected with the history of his own country, but identified with the real or fabulous history of France, which was then the ally of Castile, and the mortal foe of Portugal. The difficulty is at once removed, if we allow that author to have adopted from the French minstrels a tale of their country, founded probably upon some ancient and vague tradition, in the same manner as they themselves had borrowed from the British bards, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, their translator, the slender foundation upon which they erected the voluminous and splendid history of Arthur and the doughty chivalry of his Round Table. This is the more probable, as we actually find Amadis enumerated among other heroes of French romance mentioned in an ancient collection of stories called *Cursor Mundi*, translated from the French into English metre.

'Men lykyn jestis for to here,
And romans rede in diverse manere,
Of Alexandre the conqueroure;
Of Julius Cæsar the emperour;
Of Greece and Troy the strong stryfe;
There many a man lost his lyf;
Of Brut, that baron bold of hond,
The first conquerour of Englond;
Of Kyng Artour, that was so ryche,
Was non in his tyme so ilyche;
Of wonders that among his knights fell,
And auntyrs deden as men her telle:
As Gaweyn and othir full abylle,
Which that kept the round tabyll;
Hou King Charles & Rowland fawghte
With Sarazins nold thei be cawght;
Of Tristram and Ysoude the swete,
Hou ther with love first gan mete;
Of King John & of Isenbras;
Of Ydoine and *Amadas*.' *Warton's History of Poetry.*

If the hero last mentioned be really Amadis de Gaul, the question as to the existence of a French or Picard history of his exploits, is fairly put to rest. For, not to mention that the date of the poem above quoted is at least coeval with Vasco de Lobeira, it is admitted, that no French translation of the Portuguese work was made till that of Herberay in 1575; and, consequently the author of the *Cursor Mundi* must have alluded to a French original, altogether independent of Lobeira's work.

Mr. Southey himself, with the laudable impartiality of an editor more attached to truth than system, has produced the evidence of one Portuguese author, who says that *Pedro* de Lobeira translated the history of Amadis de Gaul from the French language, at the instance of the Infant Don Pedro. *Agiologio Lusitano*, tom. 1. p. 480.—Now, although this author *has* made a mistake, in calling Lobeira, *Pedro*, instead of *Vasco* yet his authority at least proves that there existed, even in Portugal, some tradition that Amadis had originally been composed in French, although the authors of that country have, with natural partiality, endeavoured to vindicate Lobeira's title to the fame of an original author* One singular circumstance tends to corroborate

* The evidence of Nicola Antonia, in the *Vetus Hispanæ Bibliotheca*, is, as remarked by Mr. Rose, extremely inconclusive. He adds *ut fama est* to his affirmation that Lobeira was the original author of Amadis, and quotes the equally cautious expression of Antonius Augustinus—'Quarum fabularum primum fuisse auctorem Vascum Lobeiram, *Lusitani jactant*.' Amadis de Gaule, a poem, Introd. p. vi.

what is stated in the *Agiologio*. It is certain that the work was executed under the inspection of an Infant of Portugal; for Montalvo expressly states, that at the instance of this high personage, an alteration, of a very peculiar nature, was made in the story. The passage, which is curious in more respects than one, is thus rendered by Mr. Southey.

'At the end of the 41st chapter, it is said that Briolania would have given herself and her kingdom to Amadis; but he told her, right loyally, how he was another's. In the Spanish version, ff. 72, this passage follows—"But though the Infante Don Alphonso of Portugal, having pity upon this fair damsel, ordered it to be set down after another manner, that was what was his good pleasure, *and not what actually was written of their loves*; and they relate that history of these loves thus, though, with more reason, faith is to be given to what we before said:—Briolania, being restored to her kingdom, and enjoying the company of Amadis and Agrayes, persisted in her love; and, seeing no way whereby she could accomplish her mortal desires, she spake very secretly with the damsel, to whom Amadis, and Galaor, and Agrayes, had each promised a boon, if she would guide Don Galaor where he might find the Knight of the Forest. This damsel was now returned, and to her she disclosed her mind, and besought her, with many tears, to advise some remedy for that strong passion. The damsel then, in pity to her lady, demanded, as the performance of his promise, from Amadis, that he should not go out of a certain tower till he had a son or a daughter by Briolania; and they say, that upon this, Amadis went into the tower, because he would not break his word; and there, because he would not consent to Briolania's desires, he remained, losing both his appetite and his sleep, till his life was in great danger. This being known in the court of King Lisuarte, his lady Oriana, that she might not lose him, sent and commanded him to grant the damsel's desire; and he having this command, and considering, that by no other means could he recover his liberty, or keep his word, took that fair Queen for his leman, and had by her a son and a daughter at one birth. But it was not so, unless Briolania, seeing how Amadis was drawing nigh to death in the tower, told the damsel to release him of his promise, if he would only remain till Don Galaor was arrived; doing thus, that she might so long enjoy the sight of the fair and famous knight, whom, when she did not behold, she thought herself in great darkness. This carries with it more reason why it should be believed; because this fair Queen was afterwards married to Don Galaor, as the fourth book relates." Introduction, p. vii.

It seems to us clear, from this singular passage, that the work upon which Lobeira was busied, under the auspices of the Infant Don Alfonso, or what infant soever was his patron, must necessarily have been a translation, more or less free, from some ancient authority. If Amadis was the mere creature of Lobeira's fancy,

the author might no doubt be unwilling, in compliance with the whimsical compassion of his patron for the fair Briolania, to violate the image of ideal perfection pictured in his hero, to which fidelity was so necessary an attribute; but he could in no sense be said to interpolate *what actually was written*, unless he derived his story from some authority, independent of the resources of his own imagination.

We do not think it necessary to enter into the question, how far the good taste and high spirit displayed in this romance, entitles us to ascribe it exclusively to the French. The modest assurance with which Monsieur de Tressan advances the claim of his nation upon this ground, is, as Mr. Southey has justly observed, a truly French argument. We have not, however, that very high opinion of the Portugueze character, about the conclusion of the 14th century, which has been adopted by Mr. Southey. We recollect that the 'good and loyal Portugueze, who fought at Aljubarrota for king Joam of good memory,' were indebted for that victory to Northberry and Hartfell, the English mercenaries, who arranged their host in so strong a position; to the headlong impetuosity of the Gascon, Berneze, and French adventurers, who composed the van of the Spanish army; and to the jealousy or cowardice of the Castilians, who refused to support their auxiliaries: So that little of the fame of that memorable day can in truth be imputed to the courage of the Portugueze. At that time, indeed, Castile and Portugal were rather the stages whereon foreigners exercised their courage in prize fighting, than theatres for the display of national valour. Edward, (the Black Prince), John of Gaunt, John Chandos, and Sir Edward Knowles fought in those countries, against Bertram of Clesquy and the flower of French chivalry—but we hear little of the prowess of the inhabitants themselves. Such an insolent superiority was exercised by the English and Gascons, who came to the assistance of the king of Portugal, that, upon occasion of some discontent, they erected the pennon of St. George as a signal of revolt; elected Sir John Soltier, a natural son of the Black Prince, to be their captain; and proclaimed themselves, *friends to God, and enemies to all the world*; nor had the King any other mode of saving his country from pillage, than by complying with their demands.—Indeed, it is more than probable, that both Portugal and Spain would have fallen under the dominion of England, if the port wine, which now agrees so well with the constitution of our southern brethren, had been equally congenial to that of their martial ancestors: 'But the Englyshmen founde the wynes there so strong, hot and brinning that it corrupted their heads, and dried their bowelles, and brente their lightes and lyvers; and they had no

remedy; for they could fynde but lytill good water to tempre their wynes, nor to refresh them; which was contrary to their natures; for Englyshmen, in their own countries, are sweetly nourished: and there they were brent both within and without.' To such circumstances was Portugal occasionally indebted to safety at the hands of her too dangerous allies. It seems to us more than probable, that, during these wars, the French or Picard original of Amadis, was acquired by Lobeira from some minstrel attendant upon the numerous Breton and Gascon knights who followed the banners of the Earl of Cambridge, or the Duke of Lancaster; for to Brittainy or Acquitaine we conceive the original to be referred.

But while we cannot believe, against the concurring testimony of Herberay and Tressan, as well as against the usual progress of romantic composition, that Amadis de Gaul is, from beginning to end, the invention of Lobeira; yet, we conceive enough may safely be ascribed to him, to warrant the praises bestowed on him by Mr. Southey, and perhaps to entitle him to the name of an original author. We do not indeed know the precise nature of Lobeira's work, nor what additions have been made to it by Montalvo; but it is easy to conceive that it must have been something very different from the Picard original. In making some remarks on the style and structure of Amadis, we shall endeavour to contrast them with those of the earlier romance.

The metrical romances differed in many most material particulars from the prose romances by which they were superseded. The former partook of the character of the rhapsodists, by whom they were usually composed, and always sung. It was vain to expect from the ignorant minstrels, or those who wrote for them, a well connected history: nor, if they had been capable of such a refined composition, could its beauties have been relished by their audience, to whom they had seldom time to sing above one or two of the adventures contained in a long romance. Their narration was therefore rambling and desultory. One adventure followed another, without much visible connection; the only object of the author being, to produce such detached pieces as might interest during the time of recitation, without any regard to the unity of the composition. Thus, in many cases, the only connexion seems to arise from the same hero figuring in all the adventures, which are otherwise as much detached from each other, as the scenes in the box of a show man. But when a book was substituted for the minstrel's song, when the adventures of a *preux chevalier* were no longer listened to by starts, amid the roar of convivial festivity, but furnished the amusement of the closet, and that in so permanent a shape, that

the student might turn back to resume the connexions which had escaped him—it became the study of the author to give a greater appearance of uniformity to his work. As an arrangement, in which all the incidents should seem to conduce to one general end, must soon have become a merit with the reader; it became, necessarily, to the author, a worthy object of attainment. Hence, in the best of our prose romances, and particularly in Amadis de Gaul, a combined and regular progress of the story may be discovered; whereas the metrical romances present, with a few exceptions, a suite of unconnected adventures, often striking and splendid indeed in themselves, but appearing rather an assemblage of loose materials for a history, than a history itself. But the advantage thus gained, by the prose romances, was often lost, by carrying too far the principle on which it was grounded. Having once regularly completed a story, good taste and judgment required them to stop and choose for their future labours some subject unconnected with what was already perfect. But this was not the genius of the age. When they had secured an interesting set of characters, the authors could not resist the temptation of bringing them again upon the stage; and hence, the endless continuations with which Amadis and the other romances of that class, were saddled, and of which Mr. Southey complains with so much justice. Only four books of Amadis are genuine. The remaining twenty are an interpolation, containing the history of his descendants, in all respects greatly inferior to the original.

In another point of view, it appears to us not quite clear that the prose romancers obtained any superiority over their poetical predecessors. The rude poetry of the minstrels was, no doubt, frequently rambling and diffusive; partaking in short, of those faults which naturally attach to unpremeditated composition.—But we doubt greatly, whether the studied and affected ornaments of the prose romance are not more tedious and intolerable than the rhapsodies of the minstrels. Mr. Southey, in his translation of Amadis, has, with due attention to modern taste, shortened the long speeches of the lovers, and simplified many of their high flown compliments. On the other hand, the custom of interweaving the history with little descriptive sketches, which, in many instances, were very beautiful, was dropt by the prose narrators, as an unnecessary interruption to the continuation of the story. We allude to such passages as the following, which are introductions to the *Fyttes* of the unpublished romance of Merlin. The ancient orthography is altered, for the sake of modern readers.

'In time of winter *along** it is,
The fowls lesen their bliss,
The leaves fallen off the tree,
Rain rusheth along the countrey;
Maidens lose their lovely hew,
But still they loven that be true.

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In May is merry time swithe,
Fowls in wood they make them blithe,
Swains 'gin on justing ride,
Maidens dressen them with pride.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Merry it is in the month of June,
When fennel hangeth abroad in town;
Violet and roses flower
Groweth then on maidens bower;
The sun is hot, the day is long,
The small birds maketh merry song.'

'Of such passages, which serve to relieve the heaviness of the perpetually recurring fight and tournament, the prose romance affords us no example. The ornaments which it presents, are those of studied description, every word of which is laboured, as applicable to the precise scene which is described, without expressing or exciting any general sensibility of the beauties of nature. We may take, as no unfavourable instance, the account of the tower and gardens constructed by Apollidon in the Firm Island.

'In that tower were nine apartments, three on a floor; and though some part was the work of skilful artists, the rest was wrought by the skill and science of Apollidon himself, so wondrously, that no man in the world could rightly value, nor even understand its exceeding rarity. And because it would be long to describe it all at length, I shall only say, that the tower stood in the midst of a garden, surrounded with a wall of goodly stone and mortar; and the garden was the goodliest that might be seen, by reason of its trees and herbs, and fountains of sweet water. Of those trees, many were hung with fruit the whole year through, and others bore flowers—and round about the garden by the walls, were covered walks, with golden trellis-work, through which might all that pleasant greenness be seen. The ground was covered with stones, some clear as the crystal, others coloured like rubies and other precious stones, the which Apollidon had procured from certain islands in the East, where jewels, gold, and other rare things are produced, by reason of the great heat of the sun continually acting. These islands are uninhabited, save only by wild beasts—and for fear of those beasts,

* Tedious.

no man durst ever set foot thereon, till Apollidon, by his cunning wrought such spells, that it became safe to enter there; and then the neighbouring people, being assured of this, took advantage thereof, and ventured there also; and thus the world became stocked with sundry things which it had never before known. To the four sides of the tower, water was brought from the neighbouring mountains by metal pipes, and collected into four fountains; and the water spouted so high from the golden pillars, and through the mouths of animals, that it was easy to reach it from the windows of the first story; for it was caught in golden basons wrought on the pillars; and by those fountains was the whole garden watered.' *Amadis*, Vol. iv. p. 13.

From comparing the slight, extemporary, and natural landscape-sketches of the ancient minstrel, with the laboured and minute picture of Lobeira or Montalvo the reader may derive some idea of the marked difference between the style of the more ancient tales of chivalry, and those by which they were succeeded. The description of the minstrel appears almost as involuntary as it is picturesque, and is enlivened by the introduction of the birds, the dames, and the gallant knights. The prose author seems to have sat down to describe Apollidon's tower, his water-pipes, Kensington gravel walks, and Dutch trellis, with a sort of *malice prepense* against his reader's patience; and his account exactly resembles the plan and elevation of a capability man or architect. The following contrast regards a scene of a more animated nature, and, of all others, that which occurs most frequently in romance.

'Alexander made a cry hardi,
"Ore tost, aby, aby."
Then the knights of Achaye
Justed with them of Arabye;
Egypt justed with them of Tyre,
Simple knights with rich syre.
There ne was forgift, ne forbearing,
Between Vavasour or King.
Before men mighten and behind,
Contest seek, and contest find.
With Persians fought the Gregois;
There was cry, and great *hontois*;
There might men find his peer;
There lose many his destrier;*
There was quicke in little thrawe;
Many gentil knight y-slawe;
Many arm, many heavod,
Some from the body reaved;

* War-horse.

Many gentle ladye
There lost quickly her *ami;*
There was many y-maimed;
Many fair pensill bebledde;
There were swords liklaking;*
There were speres in blood bathing;
Both Kings there, sans doute,
Y-dashed in with all their route;
Many lands, both near and far,
Lost their Lords in this war.
Earth quaked of their riding;
The weather thicken'd of their crying;
The blood of them that were y-slawe,
Ran by floods to the lawe.'

In this description, as in the former, may be traced the spirit of the poet, warming as he advanced in narration; from the encountering of the hosts, when war, like death, levelled all distinction betwixt the vassal and monarch, to the fall of the loves of ladies and the lords of domain, to the bloody banners, clashing swords and gory lances, until the ground shook under the charge of the combatants, the air was darkened at their shouts, and the blood of the dying poured like torrents into the valley. The following is the description of the grand battle betwixt Lisuarte and Aravigo, in which the timely assistance of Amadis, with his father, gave the victory to the father of Oriana.

'Presently (King Lisuarte) went down the side of the mountain into the plain; and as it was now upon that hour when the sun was rising, it shone upon their arms; and they appeared so well disposed, that their enemies, who had before held them as nothing, now thought of them otherwise.——In this array, which you have heard, they moved slowly over the field one against the other.

'At this season, King Perion, with his sons Amadis and Florestan, entered the plain upon their goodly steeds; and with their arms of the Serpents, which shone brightly in the sun; and they rode on to place themselves between the two armies, brandishing their spears, whose points were so polished and clear, that they glittered like stars; and the father went between his sons. Much were they admired by both parts, and each would willingly have had them on his side; but no one knew whom they came to aid, nor who they were. They, seeing that the host of Brian of Monjuste was about to join battle, put spurs to their horses, and rode up near to his banner; then set themselves against King Targadan, who came against him. Glad was Don Brian of their help, though he knew them not; but they, when they saw that it was time, rode to attack the host of King Targadan, so fiercely, that all were astonished. In that encounter, King Perion

* Clashing.

struck that other King so hardily, that a part of the spear soon entered his breast, and he fell Amadis smote Abdasin the Fierce, so that armour nothing profited him, but the lance passed through from side to side, and he fell like a dead man Don Florestan drove Carduel, saddle and man, under the horses' feet: these three being the bravest of that battalion that had come forwards to combat the Knights of the Serpents. Then laid they hand to sword, and passed through the first squadron, felling all before them, and charged the second; and when they were thus between both, there was to be seen what marvellous feats of prowess they wrought with their swords; such, that none did like them on either side; and they had now under their horses more than ten knights whom they had smitten down. But when their enemies saw that they were no more than three, they charged them on all sides, laying on such heavy blows that the aid of Don Brian was full needful, who came up with his Spaniards, a brave people, and well horsed, and rode among the enemy, slaying and felling them, though his own men fell also; so that the Knights of the Serpents were succoured, and the enemy so handled, that they perforce gave back upon the third battalion. Then there was a great press, and a great danger for all; and many knights died upon either side. But what King Perion and his sons did there cannot be expressed. Such was the uproar and confusion, that King Aravigo feared lest his own men, who had given ground, should make the others fly; and he called aloud to Arcalaus to advance with all the battalions, and attack in one body. This presently he did, and King Aravigo with him; but without delay King Lisuarte did the same: so that the whole battle was now joined: and such was the clang of strokes, and the cry and noise of horsemen, that the earth trembled, and the vallies rung again.' Vol. iii. p. 90.

In this last quotation, as in the former, the inferiority of Lobeira is sufficiently manifest; though his description is by no means void of spirit. It cannot be alleged that this is owing to the poetry; for no modern will attribute much to the force of the minstrel's numbers; and the author of Amadis is far from disclaiming the use of poetical ornament. The difference arises from the disposition to specification, and to exchange general effect for minute description, which we have already remarked as an attribute of the prose romance.

The most curious part, however, of this curious subject, respects the change in manners which appears to have taken place about the middle of the 14th century, when what we now call the Spirit of Chivalry, seems to have shone forth with the most brilliant lustre. In the older romances, we look in vain for the delicacy which according to Burke, robbed vice of half its evil, by depriving it of all its grossness. The tales of the older metrical romancers, founded frequently on fact, and always narrated in a coarse and downright style, excite feelings sometimes ludicrous, and often disgusting; and in fact can only be excelled by

the unparalleled *fabliaux* published by Barbazan, which although professedly written to be recited to noble knights and dames, exhibit a nakedness, not only in the description, but in the turn of the story, which would now banish them even from a bagnio, unless of the very lowest order. The ladies in metrical romances, not only make the first advances on all occasions, but with a degree of vivacity, copied it would seem from the worthy spouse of Potiphar. For example, a certain knight called Sir Amis, having declined the proffered favours of the Lady Belisaunt, pleading his allegiance to his liege lord, receives from her the following sentimental rebuke:

'That merry maiden of great renown
Answered, "Sir Knight, thou has no *crown*—*
For God that bought thee dear
Whether art thou priest or parson,
Other art thou monk, other canon,
That preachest me thus here?

"Thou never shouldst have been a Knight,
To go amongst maidens bright;
Thou shouldst have been a frere:
He that learned thee thus to preach,
The devil of hell I him biteche,
My brother though he were." *Amis & Amelion.*

As the damsels were urgent in their demands the knights of these more early ages were often brutally obstinate in their refusal; and instead of the gentle denial which the love-sick Briolania received from the courteous Amadis, they were too apt to behave like Bevis of Hamton, when invited to a rendezvous by the fair Josiana a Saracen princess—

'Forth the knights go can;
To Bevis' chamber they came anon,
And prayed, as he was gentleman,
Come speak with Josian.
Bevis stoutly in this stound
Haf up his head from the ground
- - - - - - - - - - -
And said, "If ye ne were messagers,
I should ye slay, ye lossengers;
I ne will rise one foot fro' grounde
For to speak with an heathen hounde;
She is a hound, also be ye,
Out of my chambers with ye flee."

* Art not shaved like a monk.

All this coarseness, in word and deed, was effectually banished from the romances of chivalry which were composed subsequent to 1350. Sentiment had begun to enter into these fictions, not casually, or from the peculiar delicacy of an individual author, but as a necessary qualification of the heroes and heroines whose loves occupied their ponderous folios.

Of this refinement we find many instances in Amadis. Balays of Corsante being repulsed by a damsel, explains his sentiments upon such points. 'My good lady,' Balays answered, 'think no more of what I said: it becomes knights to serve damsels, and to woo their love, and becomes them to deny, as you have done: and albeit, at the first, we think it much to obtain of them what we desire, yet when wisely and discreetly they resist our inordinate appetites, keeping that without which they are worthy of no praise, they be even of ourselves more reverenced and commended.' Notwithstanding this favourable alteration in their tone, the reader is not to understand that the morality of these writings was in fact very materially amended; for at no period was the age of chivalry distinguished for female virtue. Those who have supposed the contrary, have never opened a romance written before the tomes of Calprenede, and Scudery, and judge of Queen Guenever, Iseult, and Oriana, by what they find there recorded of Mandane and Cassandra. But the genuine prose romances of chivalry, although less gross in language and circumstance, contain as little matter for edification as the tales of the minstrels, to which they succeeded. Lancelot du Lac is the adulterous lover of Guenever, the wife of his friend and sovereign; and Tristram de Lionel the incestuous seducer of his uncle's spouse, as well in the prose folios of Rusticien de Puise, and the Knight of the Castle of Gast, as in the rhymes of Chretien de Troyes and Thomas of Erceldoune. Nor did the tales of a more modern date turn upon circumstances more correct: witness the history of the Petit Jehan de Saintré, and many others. Of Amadis, in particular, Mr. Southey has observed, that 'all the first-born children are illegitimate,' because 'the hero must be every way irresistible.' The same observation applies to most romances of chivalry; so that one would be tempted to suppose that the damsels of those days, doomed frequently to wander through lonely woods infested by robbers, giants, and caitiffs of every description, were so far from trusting, like the lady in Comus, to the magic power of true virginity, that they hastened to confer upon some faithful knight a treasure so very precarious, while it was yet their own to bestow. But the modern man of gallantry will be surprised to hear, that this by no means diminished either the zeal or duty of the lover,

who had thus attained the summit of his hopes. On the contrary, unless in the case of here and there a don Galaor, who is always painted as a subaltern character, a *preux chevalier* was bound not only to maintain the honour of the lady thus deposited in his custody, but to observe towards her the fidelity and respect of religious observance.* Every one knows how long Sir Launcelot had enjoyed the favours of Queen Guenever; and yet that scrupulous knight went distracted, and remained so till he was healed by the Sang-real, merely because by enchantment he was brought to the bed of the lovely dame Elaine. As for Amadis, the bare suspicion which Oriana conceived of his infidelity, occasioned his doing penance on the Poor Rock in a manner unequalled, unless by the desolate knight who averred himself to have retired to a cavern, where he 'used for his bed mosse, for his candle mosse, for his covering mosse, and, unless now and then a few coals, mosse for his meat; a dry food, God wot and a fresh; but so moistened with wet tears, and so salte, that it was hard to conjecture whether it was better to feed or fast.'†

In short, the love of the knights-errant was, like their laws of honour, altogether beyond the common strain of feeling, as well as incapable of being measured by the standard of religion and morality. Their rules of honour have in some degree survived the fate of their order; and we have yet fatal instances of bloodshed for a 'word of reproach,' a 'bratchet hound,' or such other causes of duel as figure in the tales of the Table Round. But the love which was not only fostered, but imposed as a solemn duty by the laws of chivalry, is now only to be traced in such a romance as is before us. It subsisted, as we have seen, independent of maidenly chastity and conjugal fidelity; and its source perhaps may be traced to a remote period of antiquity. Tacitus has noticed the respect in which women were held among the German tribes. The ladies of Britain were indulged with the privilege of a plurality of husbands; and those of Scandinavia, although they were limited to one, might divorce him at their pleasure.‡ This sort of supremacy, the ladies appear at

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* The Cecisbei of Italy derive their order from the days of chivalry. The reader is referred to the Memoires de Grammont for an account of the duties expected from them.

† Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. ii. p. 136.

‡ A curious instance may be found in Eyrbiggia Saga. Thordisa, the wife of Borck, an Icelandic chief, attempted to stab one Eyulf Grae, the friend and guest of her husband. Borck interfering, admi-

all times to have exercised over the descendants of the Northern tribes. It is true, as already mentioned, the homage paid their charms by the earlier heroes of chivalry, was interrupted and sullied by the roughness of their manners and expressions. To reverse the complaint of the Knight of the Burning Pestle, 'one whom Amadis had styled courteous damsel, Bevis would have called heathen hound;' but the duty of obeying the hests, and fighting for the honour of a lady, was indispensable even among the earliest and rudest sons of chivalry. In the course of the fourteenth century, this was sublimated and refined to the most extravagant degree; so that the secret, inviolable, and romantic attachment of Amadis to Oriana might be easily paralleled by similar passages from real history. Even the zeal of devotion gave way to this all-devouring sentiment; and very religious indeed must the knight have been, who had, as was predicated of Esplandian, God upon his *right* hand, and his lady upon his *left*.

We cannot leave this part of our subject, without bestowing our warm commendations on Mr. Southey, for disdaining to follow Tressan and Herberay, in the impure descriptions and obscenities which they have much oftener introduced, than found, in the Spanish original. Tressan in particular, whose talents and taste made it totally inexcusable, dwells with infinitely higher gust upon the gallantries of Don Galaor, than upon the love of Amadis; and describes them with that vicious and perverted love of obscenity, which Mr Southey so justly reprobates, as 'peculiarly and characteristically the disgrace of French Literature.' May a practice so ominous to the morals and manly virtue of our nation, long be a stranger to the writings of those who profess to afford to Britons information or pleasure!

The manners described in Amadis de Gaul are, in other respects, strictly feudal and chivalrous. The points of right and honour which are discussed; the rules of combat and of truce; the high and rigid adherence to knightly faith, are all features of the 14th and 15th centuries. What may appear to the modern reader, one of the most strained instances of the latter, is the conduct of King Lisuarte in the fourth book, to whom an old man presents a crown and mantle, under the condition, that he shall restore

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'ministered to his wife some domestic chastisement. But mark the consequence. 'When Borck departed to Helgafell, Thordisa, standing before the door of the house, called witnesses to bear testimony that she divorced her husband Borck; assigning for a cause, that he had struck her, and that she would no longer submit to such injuries. Thereupon the household goods were divided betwixt them.

them at his *cour pleniere*, or grant the suppliant a boon in their stead. On the appointed day, the crown and mantle, having been conveyed out of Lisuarte's custody by enchantment; the boon demanded by the stranger in lieu is, that Oriana, the daughter of Lisuarte, should be delivered up to him.

'Lisuarte exclaimed, Ah, knight, thou hast asked a great thing! and all who were present were greatly grieved. But the King, who was the most loyal man in the world, bade them not trouble themselves. It is better, said he, to lose my daughter, than to break my word; the one evil afflicts few, the other would injure all; for how would the people keep faith with one another, if they could not depend upon the King's truth? And he commanded his daughter to be brought. When the Queen and her ladies heard that, they made the most sorrowful outcry that ever was heard: but the king ordered them to their chambers; and he forbade all his people to lament, on pain of losing his favour. My daughter, cried he, must fare as God hath appointed; but my word shall never be wilfully broken.'

Instances of a similar rigid adherence to knightly faith can be produced from real history. The Duke of Gueldres being on a journey through Prussia, was laid in wait for, and made prisoner by a certain banditti, or adventurers, commanded by a squire named Arnold. When the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order heard what had happened, he marched against the castle where the Duke was confined, with so strong a force, that Arnold durst not abide his coming. Hereupon he said to his prisoner, 'Sir Duke, ye are my prisoner, and I am your master. Ye are a gentleman and true knight; ye have sworn, and given me your faith. I think not to abide the master of Pruce; he cometh hither with a great force; tarry here, if you list; I will carry with me your faith and promise.' To this he added the name of the place to which he retreated, and so left the Duke at liberty. The Duke waited the arrival of the Grand Master; but was so far from considering it as absolving him from his captivity, that no entreaties nor representations, could stay him from acquitting his faith, by again putting himself into the hands of Arnold; with whom he remained a prisoner, till he was ransomed by his friends.

The quarrel betwixt king Lisuarte and Amadis, because he would not bestow upon Galvanes the hand of his captive Madasima, and the dominion of the island which she inherited, and which he had conquered; the manner in which Amadis and his kindred renounce the service of Lisuarte; the mutual defiances which are formally exchanged betwixt them, are all in the high tone of feudal solemnity, and are well worthy the attention of those who investigate the customs of the middle ages. The read-

er may compare the mode in which these defiances were received, with the deportment of the Black Prince, when he was served with a writ of summons to attend the Parliament at Paris. 'When the Prince had read this letter, he had great marvel, and shook his head and beheld fiercely the Frenchmen; and when he had a little studied, he answered in this manner: "Sirs, we will gladly go to Paris, to our uncle, sith he hath sent thus for us; but I assure you that it shall be with bassnet on our head, and sixty thousand men in our company." *Froissart.*

We have dwelt the more fully upon the manners of this romance, because they correspond exactly with those of the period in which it was written. In the romances which were composed during the declension of chivalry, the writers no longer painted from the life; the manners which they described were as fictitious as the adventures which they narrated; and the reader may look for such historical resemblances as we have noticed, with as little success, as if he were to consult a map for the situation of Taprobana, or the Firm Island.

We have already observed, that the story of Amadis is constructed with singular ingenuity. The unvaried recurrence of the combat with the lance and the sword, is indeed apt to try the patience of the modern reader; although the translator's compassion has spared them some details, and 'consolidated' (as he rather quaintly says) 'many of those single blows, which have no reference to armorial anatomy.' But, in defiance of the similarity of combat and adventure, the march of the story engages our attention; and the successive events are well managed, to support each other, and to bring on the final catastrophe. It is not our intention to give a detailed account of the story; but the following sketch may excite, rather than forestall, the curiosity of the reader.

Perion, king of Gaul, the guest of Garinter, king of Brittany, becomes enamoured of the fair Elisene, daughter of that monarch, obtains a private interview, and departs to his own kingdom. The princess becomes pregnant, and, to hide her disgrace, the child, afterwards the famous Amadis, is placed in a cradle, and launched into the sea. He is found by a knight of Scotland, and carried to that kingdom, where he is educated as the son of his preserver. Meanwhile, Perion marries Elisene, and they have a second son, called Galaor, who is carried off by a giant, and brought up to feats of arms and chivalry. Amadis, in the interim, is brought by his foster father to the court of Scotland, where he meets Oriana, daughter of Lisuarte king of Britain. To her he becomes warmly attached, and, when knighted, prevails on her to receive him as her cavalier. Thus animated, he

sets forth on his military career, to assist Perion of Gaul, who is only known to him as the ally of the Scotish monarch, against Abyes, king of Ireland, who had besieged Perion in his capital. But no knight errant ever attains the direct place of his destination, when he happens to have one, without some *bye battles*. Several of these fall to Amadis's lot; and he is involved in many dangers, through which he is protected by the friendship of Urganda the Unknown, a mighty enchantress, the professed patroness of his house. Arriving at length at the capital of Gaul, he terminates the war, by the defeat and death of Abyes, whom he slays in single combat. After this exploit, by means of tokens which had been placed in his cradle, he is recognised and acknowledged as the son of Perion and Elisene. By this time Gandalac, the tutor of Galaor, conceived him to be ready to execute the purpose for he which had carried him off; namely, to maintain a battle on his account against a brother giant who had injured him. Galaor having previously received the order of knighthood from his brother Amadis, though without knowing him, undertakes the combat, which terminates like all combats between giants and knights. Amadis, meanwhile, repairs to the court of Lisuarte, father of Oriana, and distinguishes himself by feats of chivalry, subduing all competitors by his courage, and attaching them to his person by his valour and liberality. Galaor runs a similar career, with this advantage over his brother, that he seldom fails to be repaid for his labours, by the distressed damozels whom he is fortunate enough to relieve. At length Amadis, at the instigation of a certain dwarf, enters the castle of Arcalaus, whose captives he releases, and whom he defeats in single combat. Here, nevertheless, he is made prisoner by enchantment, and is in great peril until released by the counter spells of his friend Urganda. The conjurer was, however, not to be provoked with impunity: he contrives, by a trick already noticed, to get into his possession the lovely Oriana; and by another device had well nigh slain her father Lisuarte, who was fortunately relieved by Galaor. An insurrection, fomented by Arcalaus, is also quelled, and Oriana is rescued from the enchanter, by the irresistible arm of Amadis. His faithful services are rewarded by possession of his mistress; and thus closes the first book of Amadis. Among other distressed princesses relieved by Amadis, chanced to be the lovely queen Briolania,* who became desperately enamoured of her deliverer,

* Although Cervantes states the dispute which occurred betwixt Don Quixote and Cardenio, in the Sierra Morena, to have respected the character of queen Madasima; yet the person meant must have

(being the same, indeed, whose hopeless passion excited the compassion of the prince of Portugal) Oriana, from an inaccurate account of this affair, becomes jealous, and despatches a severe and cruel message to Amadis. This reaches him, just as he had accomplished a notable adventure in the Firm Island, by entering an enchanted chamber, which could only be entered by the truest lover who lived upon earth. The message of Oriana drives him to distraction; he forswears arms, and becomes the companion of the hermit on the Poor Rock, where he does penance, till he is near the gates of death. The place of his residence at length comes to Oriana's knowledge, who, sensible of her injustice, recals him to her presence, and of course to health and happiness. His return to the *island* of Windsor, where Lisuarte kept his court, is of the utmost importance to that prince, who reaps the advantage of his assistance in a direful contest with Cildadan of Ireland, assisted by certain sons of Anak, whose names it would take us too much time to write, since few of them are under six syllables in length. This giant brood being routed and dispersed, Lisuarte is induced, by certain deceitful, flattering, and envious courtiers, to treat the services of Amadis with slight and neglect. Ere long, this coldness comes to an open breach: Amadis, and his friends and followers, formally renounce the service of Lisuarte; and all retire, with their heroic leader, to the Firm Island, the sovereignty of which he had acquired. Galaor alone, bound by repeated obligations to Lisuarte, continues to adhere to him; and thus the author artfully contrives, that the reader shall retain an interest, even in the party opposed to Amadis. Oriana, during the absence of her lover, is secretly delivered of a son, named Esplandian; but as the heroines of the author are all mothers before they are wives, so they are never trusted with the education of their own children. The little Esplandian is carried off by a lioness, from whom he is rescued by a saint and hermit, called Nasciano. He is educated by this holy man, and in process of time presented to his grandfather

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been this queen Briolania. For Elisabat the surgeon, the person who gave the scandal, was the servant and attendant of Briolania, not of Madasima. Besides, the character of the latter was untainted (the story of her having twins by Amadis being altogether apocryphal:) whereas, even the knight of La Mancha could not have vouched for the chastity of Madasima, who was one of the numerous mistresses of Don Galaor, and otherwise a lady of light conditions. Don Galvanes is supposed to have married her only for her fortune, and had therefore the greater right to resent Lisuarte's attempt to deprive him of it. If this be not an accidental mistake of Cervantes, he referred to some history of Amadis, very different from that of Montalvo.

Lisuarte, and received into the train of his own mother. During this long space, Amadis wanders about the world, redressing wrongs, slaying monsters, and turning the tide of battle against the oppressors, wherever he comes. He has even the generosity (in disguise) to assist Lisuarte in a very desperate battle with Aravigo, a powerful monarch, whom the inveterate enchanter Arcalaus had stirred up against the king of Britain But the emperor of Rome, El Patin, as the romance calls him, sends to Lisuarte, to demand the hand of his daughter Oriana; and the king, seduced by ambition, is rash enough to force his daughter to this marriage, contrary to the advice of his best counsellors. Amadis repairs, under a new disguise to Britain; and the knights sent by the emperor to receive his bride, sustain at his hands a thousand disgraces, unpitied by the English, to whom they were odious for their insolence and presumption. At length the princess is put on board the Roman fleet; but that fleet is intercepted, and, after a desperate combat, finally defeated by a squadron fitted out from the Firm Island, to which Oriana is conveyed in triumph. The discretion of Amadis in his love, gave a colour to this exploit, totally foreign from the real cause. Amadis and Oriana, notwithstanding their long separation, meet like a brother and sister; and the knights of their Firm Island send to justify their proceedings to Lisuarte, declaring that by his forcing her choice, his daughter was placed in the predicament of a distressed damsel, whose wrongs, by their oath of knighthood, they were bound to redress. The apology is ill received by the king of Britain; who, with the emperor of Rome, and all the allies who adhere to him, prepared to invade the Firm Island. Amadis, supported by his father king Perion, and many princes and queens who owed their crowns and honour to his prowess, assembles an army capable of meeting his enemy. Two desperate battles are fought, in which Lisuarte is finally worsted, but without being dishonoured by a total defeat. The brunt of the day falls upon the Romans, whom the author had no motive for sparing, and the emperor is slain on the field. In the mean while, the sainted hermit Nasciano, who had educated Esplandian, and to whom Oriana had in confession revealed the history of her love to Amadis, arrives in the camp of Lisuarte, and by his meditation brings about a truce, both parties agreeing to retreat a day's journey from each other. But Lisuarte, whose army was most weakened, was, by this retrograde movement, exposed to much danger. Arcalaus the enchanter had had influence enough with king Aravigo, to prevail upon him to levy a huge army, with which he lurked in the mountains, waiting until Lisuarte and Amadis should have exhausted their strength in mutual conflict. Being in some mea-

sure disappointed in his expectations, Aravigo held it for most expedient to fall upon Lisuarte in his retreat, whom, after a valiant resistance, he reduces to the last extremity: this is the moment which the author has chosen to exhibit the magnanimity of Amadis, and to bring about a reconciliation. The instant he hears of Lisuarte's danger, our hero flies to his assistance, and the reader will anticipate with what success: Aravigo is slain, and Arcalaus made prisoner and cooped up in a cage of iron. The father of Oriana is reconciled to her lover; and the introduction of Esplandian has its effect in hastening so desirable an event. The nuptials of Amadis and Oriana take place; and the other heroines are distributed among the champions of the Firm Island, with great regard to merit. One thing yet remained.—To finish the enchantments of the Firm Island, it was necessary that the fairest dame in the world should enter the enchanted chamber. Need we add, that dame was Oriana? 'Then was the feast spread, and the marriage bed of Amadis and Oriana made in that chamber which they had won.'

Through the whole of this long work, the characters assigned to the different personages are admirably sustained. That of Amadis is the true knight errant. Of him it might be said, in the language of Lobeira's time, that he was 'true, amorous, sage, secret, bounteous, full of prowess, hardy, adventurous, and chivalrous.' Don Galaor, the *Ranger* of knight-errantry, forms a good contrast to his brother. Lisuarte, even where swayed by the most unreasonable prejudices, shows, as it were occasionally, his natural goodness, so as always to prevent the total alienation of our good opinion and interest. The advantage given by the author to the vassals and dependants over the *Suzerain*, shows plainly a wish to please the numerous petty princes and barons at the expense of the liege lord. This may be remarked in many romances of chivalry, particularly in those of Charlemagne and his Paladins. Even the inferior characters are well, though slightly, sketched. The presumption of the Emperor, the open gallantry and dry humour of old Grumedan the King's standard-bearer, the fidelity of Gandalin squire to Amadis, the professional manners of Master Helisabad the physician, with many others, are all in true style and costume.

The machinery introduced in Amadis, does not, as Mr. Southey observes, partake much of the marvellous. Arcalaus is more to be redoubted for his courage and cunning, than for his magic. Urganda is a fay similar to those which figure in the lays of Brittany, and, except her character of a propheteſs, and some legerde-main tricks of transformation, has not much that is supernatural in her character. We differ *toto cælo* from Mr. Southey, in

deriving this class of beings from classical antiquity: the nymphs and naiads of the Greeks and Romans in no shape meddled with magic; nor were they agents out of the limits of their own proper elements. Some faint traces of Gentile superstition may be traced in the creed of the middle ages; but the Oriental genii and peris seem the prototype of the faeries of romance. The very word faery is identified with the peri of the East, which, according to the enunciation of the Arabs or Saracens, from whom the Europeans probably derived the word, sounds *pheri*, the letter *p* not occurring in the Arabic alphabet. We do not mean, however, by any means, to adopt Mr. Warton's system, which derives chivalry and romance exclusively from the East. On the contrary, although eastern superstitions, and particularly that of the fatæ, fadæ, or peri, seem to have been adopted by the romancers, the system of chivalry itself appears of northern origin; and romance is chiefly indebted for its subjects to the historical traditions of the Celtic tribes, although the minstrels, by whom they were celebrated, were of Gothic extraction.

It remains to make some observations on Mr. Southey's mode of executing his translation, which appears to us marked with the hand of a master. The abridgments are judiciously made; and although some readers may think too much has still been retained, yet the objection will only occur to such as read merely for the story, without any attention to Mr. Southey's more important object of exhibiting a correct example of those romances, by which our forefathers were so much delighted, and from which we may draw such curious inferences respecting their customs, their morals and their modes of thinking. The popular romance always preserves to a certain degree, the manners of the age in which it was written. The novels of Fielding and Richardson are even already become valuable, as a record of the English manners of the last generation. How much then, should we prize the volumes which describe those of the æra of the victors of Cressy and Poitiers! The style of Mr. Southey is, in general, what he proposed, rather antique, from the form of expression, than from the introduction of obsolete phrases. It has something of the scriptural turn, and much resembles the admirable translation of Froissart.* Some

* He that would acquire an idea of the language of chivalry, cannot too often study the work of Bourchier Lord Berners. It is with pain we see a new translation of Froissart proposed to the public. It is impossible that the spirit of that excellent author can ever be so happily transfused into modern English, as into the sterling language of Lord Berners. The liberality of the proposed translator would surely

words have inadvertently been used, which, to us, savour more of vulgarity than beseems the language of chivalry. Such are the phrases, 'devilry,' 'Sir Knave,' 'Don False One,' and some others. But we only mention these, to show that our general praise has not been inconsiderately bestowed.

Mr. Southey has made an apology for not translating the names, which convey some meaning in the original: 'I have used Belfenebros, instead of the Beautiful Darkling, or the Fair Forlorn; Florestan, instead of Forester; El Patin, instead of the Emperor Gosling; as we speak of Barbarossa, not Red-Beard; Boccanegra, not Black Muzzle; St. Peter, not Stone the Apostle.' We cannot help thinking this apology as unnecessary, as the examples are whimsical Proper names are never rendered into a familiar dialect, but with a view of making them ridiculous; although they are sometimes translated into a less known language to give them dignity. Thus, Mr. Wood is said to have been converted into *Dr Lignum*, and to have gained by the exchange; while it is well known, that the Portugueze ambassador, Don Pedro Francisco Correo de Sylva, was chased from the court of Charles the Second, by the ridicule attached to the nickname of *Pierre du Bois*, into which his sounding title was rendered by the Duke of Buckingham: and, surely, to talk of the Chief Consul *Good-part*, would be as absurd as the epithet would be inapplicable. As for Stone the Apostle, we have only heard of one bearing that name, who had also the fate of a prophet; for his doctrines were no otherwise honoured in his own country, than by the notice of the King's attorney general.

In one respect, where we were entitled, from Mr. Southey's well known poetical powers, to hope for great satisfaction, we have been most wofully disappointed. Instead of a version of the sonnets which occur in Amadis, executed by Mr. Southey, he has been pleased to present the public with what himself calls the *shadow of a shade*, the translation from Herberay's French into Anthony Munday's English. We are surprised, that in a book to which he places a name well known in the poetical world, he should admit such doggrel as,

> 'I lost my liberty, while I did gaze
> Upon those lights, which set me in a maze;

be better employed in giving the public a new edition of the former translation, which is now become extremely scarce; and his learning and talents for literature would find no trivial employment in correcting mistakes, and collecting illustrations from cotemporary writers.

And of one free, am now become a thrall,
Put to such pain, thou serv'st thy friends withal:
And yet I do esteem this pain a pleasure,
Endured for thee, whom I love out of measure.
Leonor, sweet rose, all other flowers excelling,
For thee I feel strange thoughts in me rebelling,' &c.

There is another piece of incomprehensible nonsense, beginning,

'Sith that the victory of right deserved,
By wrong they do withhold, for which I served;
Now sith my glory thus hath had a fall,
Glorious it is to end my life withal,' &c.

The disgrace of this abominable stuff does not rest with poor *Anthony Now-Now*, whose talents could afford nothing better; far less with the Spanish author, whose sonnets, though quaint, are not devoid of some merit; but with Mr. Southey, whom we seriously exhort, in the name of poetry and common sense, to give us a decent translation in his next edition, and no more to shelter himself behind Munday for his verse, than he has done for his prose.

So much for the prose edition of Amadis, with the perusal of which we have been highly gratified.

We have already given it as our opinion, that the history of Amadis was, in its original state, a metrical romance. We remember, also, to have seen an Italian poem in ottava rima, called *Il Amadigi*, chiefly remarkable for the whimsical rule which the poet had imposed upon himself, of opening each canto with a description of the morning, and closing it with a description of the night. Mr. William Stewart Rose has now favoured the public with a poetical version of the First Book of Amadis, containing the birth and earlier adventures of the hero, and closing with his gaining possession of Oriana.

In our remarks upon this poem, we are more inclined to blame, in some degree, Mr. Rose's plan, than to find fault with the execution, which appears to us, upon the whole, to be nearly as perfect as the plan admitted. Mr. Rose has indeed stated his pretensions so very modestly, that perhaps we are warranted in thinking, that a culpable degree of diffidence has prevented him from assuming a tone of poetry more decided and animated.

'That the extract I now present to the public,' says Mr. Rose, 'is closely translated, I cannot venture to affirm. I have, I confess, attempted to introduce some of those trifling ornaments, which even the simplest style of poetry imperiously demands, and

have, in many instances, altered the arrangement, and very much contracted the narration of the original: I trust, however, that I shall not be convicted of having, in my trifling deviations, introduced any thing which is at variance with the spirit or tone of the celebrated romance.'

With the alterations and abbreviations of Mr. Rose, we have not the most distant intention of quarrelling; on the contrary, we think that his too close adherence to his original, is the greatest defect in the book. Mr. Rose was not engaged in translating a poem, but in composing one—the story of which was adopted from a prose work. We therefore do not conceive that he was obliged to limit himself to trifling ornaments, or to the very simplest style of poetry. Even in modernizing ancient poetry, and that, too, the poetry of Chaucer, containing no small portion of fire, Dryden thought himself at liberty to heighten and enlarge the descriptions of his great master. But in his versions from those pieces, (in the tale of Theodore and Honoria, for example), he borrowed from Boccacio only the outline of the story; the language, the conduct, and the sentiment, were all his own, and all in the highest strain of poetry. In like manner, we cannot see why Mr. Rose should have thought himself obliged to follow in any respect the prose of Herberay, while he himself was writing poetry. We can easily conceive that a prose romance may be converted into a metrical romance or epic poem; but we cannot allow, that there ought to subsist betwixt two works, the style of which is so very different, the relations of a translation and an original work. In consequence of Mr Rose's plan, it appears to us that his poem has suffered some injury. The necessity of following out minutely the prose narrative, produces an occasional languor in the poem, for which simple and even elegant versification does not atone. We will, however, frankly own, that the casual circumstance of having perused Mr Southey's prose work before the poem of Mr. Rose, may have had some influence upon our criticism: since our curiosity being completely forestalled, we may have felt a diminished interest in the latter, from a cause not imputable to want of merit.

The avowed model upon which Mr Rose has framed his Amadis, is the translation of Le Grand's *Fabliaux*, by Mr Way; and it is but justice to state, that, in our opinion, he has fully attained what he proposed. An easy flow of verse, partaking more of the school of Dryden than of Pope, and chequered, occasionally, with ancient words and terms of chivalry, seems well calculated for the narration of romance and legendary tale. The following passage is a successful imitation of Chaucer:

'To tell, as meet, the costly feast's array,
My tedious tale would hold a summer's day;
I let to sing who mid the courtly throng
Did most excel in dance or sprightly song;
Who first, who last, were seated on the dais;
Who carped of love and arms in courtliest phrase;
What many minstrels harp, what bratchets lie
The feet beneath, what hawks were placed on high.'

We do not pretend to say, that Mr. Rose's poetry is altogether free from the common place of the time. Such lines occur as these:

'Nearer and nearer bursts the deafening crash,
Athwart the lurid clouds red lightnings flash.'

But if Mr. Rose's plan prevented him from aspiring to the higher flights of poetry, he never, on the other hand, disgusts the reader by sinking into bathos. We are persuaded that the public would be interested in a modern version of some of our best metrical romances by Mr Rose. We are the more certain of this, because we have read the notes to Amadis with very great satisfaction. We pay them a very great compliment, indeed, when we say, that they resemble, in lightness and elegance, though not in extent of information, those of George Ellis to Way's *Fabliaux*.

Art. XI. *Observations on Crural Hernia; to which is prefixed a General Account of the Varieties of Hernia.* Illustrated by Engravings. By Alexander Monro, Junior, M. D. F. R. S. E. and Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 120. Longman & Rees. 1803.

IT is often difficult to judge with perfect impartiality of the work of one who comes recommended to us by so many extrinsic titles to respect. Our expectations are naturally influenced by the situation and opportunities of the author, and have an unfortunate tendency both to enhance his merits and to aggravate his defects. If the book correspond on the whole with the anticipations we have indulged, we give the author full credit for every incidental display of genius it may contain, and dwell with satisfaction on every enlightened sentiment and judicious remark. But if, on the other hand, the general strain of the performance be rather below what might have been expected from the state of the science, and the opportunities of the individual, we soon become unusually quick-sighted to all his imperfections; and can scarcely divest ourselves of a certain portion of irritation and dissatisfaction, that

would not perhaps have been excited by an anonymous publication.

The work before us is the first production of the Professor in the highest branch of the medical department in the University of Edinburgh; and from an author in this situation, holding at his command all the resources of a great national museum, and almost the whole combined information of the country, and engaged to maintain not only his own reputation, but that of the school in which he teaches, it was certainly natural for us to expect a work, rich in observation, and splendid in execution. If any of our readers should take up the book, as we did, with these impressions, they will probably soon come to comprehend the feelings of disappointment with which we proceeded in the perusal of it.

We willingly confess, however, that a little more consideration has convinced us of the folly of measuring this production by so lofty and gigantic a standard: it is but justice to recollect that it is the work of a young man, to whom every thing cannot be at once familiar, and who is laudably anxious to give some public and early proof of the industry by which he is to show himself worthy of the situation to which he has been elevated. We are persuaded, indeed, that it is by this meritorious solicitude alone, that the author has been induced to venture before the public with a treatise on so important and delicate a subject, and are therefore disposed to admit of every apology for the imperfections which it may be our duty to point out in it.

The work before us professes to treat particularly of Crural Hernia, and to set out with a systematic explanation of hernia in general. It made its first appearance, we understand, in the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and is now laid before the public, with all those corrections and improvements that may be supposed to have been suggested by the remarks of that learned Body. If we were inclined to give a short and specific character of the book, we should say that it consisted too much of a series of unconnected observations, and contained rather an ostentatious display of the author's acquaintance with rare and extraordinary cases, at the same time that they are scarcely ever detailed in such a manner as to communicate much instruction to the reader. It is chargeable also, in some degree, with a fault that is more common and more baneful in books of medicine than in works of any other description—we mean, that jealous partiality with which an author magnifies any little original remark or hint of a theory into a doctrine of disproportionate magnitude, and dwells upon it with a degree of complacency and copiousness, which he is often obliged to compensate, by retrenching some of the most important parts of the subject.

In a subject, however, of this great and terrible importance, where the lives of multitudes come so frequently to depend

on the decision and dexterity of the surgeon, we cannot content ourselves with these general observations, but must be allowed to go somewhat more minutely into the doctrines and observations of the author.

Passing over the few introductory sentences we are somewhat abruptly arrested by this general definition.

'By the word Hernia, is generally understood, in the language of surgery, an *external tumour*, formed by a protrusion of the bowels through one or other of the openings through the abdominal *muscles*, where the umbilical, spermatic, or crural vessels pass out, or round ligament of the *female uterus*.'

This definition, we are afraid, will not be found to be very accurate. A hernia is *not* an external tumour; nor is it formed by the bowels protruded through one or other of the abdominal muscles. In many instances, it is not external—nor can it be said to form a tumour at all. It is produced by the pressure of the muscular *parietes* of the belly. The muscular fibre acquires great strength by action; and the protrusion, therefore, takes place betwixt some of the tendinous expansions: and, often falling down betwixt the womb and rectum into the vagina, through the *obturator ligament*, betwixt the *sacro isciatic* ligaments, or through the central tendon of the diaphragm, the protruded part is strangulated. But there is something of more importance than even this palpable incorrectness of the definition. A hernia may take place under the crural arch; yet there may be an utter impossibility of deciding on the case by the *tactus eruditus*.—There may be no *tumour*, while yet the hernia is of that kind in which the symptoms run a rapid course, and the patient is soon beyond the reach of assistance.

Dr. Monro makes a division of hernia into acute and chronic. In the former (he observes) the disease comes on rapidly, and is the immediate result of violent muscular exertions: in many instances, he informs us, it creates a violent degree of pain, and soon proves fatal, from strangulation and inflammation of the bowels. In the latter, the bowels are gradually protruded, are easily returned, and remain down without strangulation—so that such hernia have even continued for life without great inconvenience.

This division of the subject is so far good; but it does not present a perfect or impressive account of the real distinctions of hernia. It does not mark the cause of this distinction, nor does it lead to the deductions which are truly useful in practice. A better distinction is, to mark where there has been predisposition, and an unusual laxity of the openings of the abdominal tendons; and

where, on the other hand, there has been little or no imperfection in the parts, but where the hernia has been produced by great violence and straining. If, for example, after a severe and long continued engagement at sea, a young, robust, and healthy lad, be suddenly bent down with extreme and enervating pain, and a small, firm, and unelastic tumour be felt in the groin; he is in the utmost danger, for the opening is small. The violent straining upon the rope, and at the same time an attempt to throw out the carriage of the gun with his foot, has brought down a small piece of the gut. In this case, the attempt at reduction without incision, will often fail; nay, it will most probably aggravate the symptoms, and the inflammatory stage will quickly lead to gangrene. Suppose again that a groom, stout, healthy and active, leaps into his saddle with so sudden an exertion as to bring down a hernia; it has the same character, being small, hard, painful, and dangerous.

Opposed to these cases, is that of predisposition, where there has been no violence. A boy has had a tumour from his infancy; or the patient is a man advanced in life, of a fat and relaxed habit; he has felt a fulness in the groin, which has increased gradually, but subsides when he lies down at night; it makes a slow progress, and the symptoms are mild, and by no means alarming; and when from the irregularity of his bowels, or other accidental circumstance, he requires the assistance of a surgeon, the hernia is easily reduced. These are the extreme cases; and by studying the cause, and attending to the degree of violence, the hardness or softness, and elasticity of the tumour, and the urgency of other general symptoms, the surgeon will in general be able to form a judgment of the propriety of reiterated efforts to reduce the hernia by the hand, or the danger of violence from this rough manuism, and the necessity of incision.

The danger to those who have long laboured under the inconvenience of a hernia, and who wear a truss, is, that by the compression which is necessary to support the parts, there is produced such a degree of callosity or rigidity of the surrounding cellular membrane, with thickening of the neck of the sac, that when, by some unusual exertions, the hernia descends either partially or entirely, the patient comes nearly into the situation of those in whom hernia has been produced without any predisposition to the disease, and in whom a small portion of intestine has descended into a narrow and contracted passage. When, on the other hand, the bowels are allowed to remain down, the tumour increases from day to day; and there is danger of strangulation, from the gradual thickening of the neck of the sac; from some strain, and consequent inflammation and swelling of the cellular membrane, or condensing and conglomeration of the omentum;

from irregularity of the action of the intestine, included in the hernia; or from collections of indigestible matter within it.

The most important section of a treatise on hernia, must be that which relates to the sac; because all the speculative points, of chief consequence, are connected with this department of the subject; and it is here that the surgeon has to encounter the great difficulties in practice. But instead of finding, in this treatise, a learned, comprehensive, and practical view of this subject, we meet with nothing but the wanderings of a mind led astray after curious and strange things, without any sober impression of what is truly useful and important. We learn, here, that the peritoneum forms the herniary sac; but we are not informed how unlike to the internal peritoneum the sac of a hernia becomes: We are not informed how it connects itself by adhesions; how it is obscured by the condensing of the cellular membrane, and the attachment of glands; how the ring and sac coalesce; and how difficult it often is to distinguish their limits. We find that our author has seen thick sacs and thin sacs, and sacs through which the vermicular motion of the intestines could be distinguished: he has seen also the transparent sac of an umbilical hernia! We can believe that he has seen much; but we should have been better pleased, if he had pointed out to us the results of his extensive observations, and either traced the analogies by which these varieties are connected in the general system of pathology, or indicated the advantage that practice is likely to receive from his slight notice of those rare and extraordinary cases.

We have been delighted with the display of morbid anatomy, which the museum of Mr. J. Hunter affords; while we were chagrined and disappointed with the imperfections of the histories that are now to be obtained of these important cases; doubly important, from having been under the observation of such a man. We did not think, however, that Dr. Monro would have had recourse to this collection, without pressing necessity; and we cannot help supposing that he has been rather unfortunate in his selection of a case. For, from the engraving with which we are here presented, and from the expression of Mr. Hunter, in which he says, it is an example of the manner in which a hernia may be cured, or the mode in which *an old hernia* is formed, we should fear that our author has mistaken the case. There is no such thing as an old hernia, in the sense in which we speak of an old coal pit; and we conceive, that an old herniary sac must have been meant. In this view, the plate is intelligible; for it is a sac inflamed and adhering, so as to present several compartments. We cannot vouch for the accuracy of this interpretation; but merely recommend a second examination of the preparation; for, to consider this case of Mr. Hunter as a collection of four

herniary sacs thrown together, and communicating, seems to us a most unlikely supposition.

Connected with this subject of the herniary sac, we have here recalled to our notice the proposal of the elder Dr. Monro, for reducing the hernia without opening the sac. Although this proposal be antiquated, yet this alone should not take from its importance. And as it comes from an authority which we so highly respect, we proceed to give our reasons for considering it as impracticable. In this operation it is proposed to open the skin and tendon only, without opening the sac. When a portion of the intestine is first protruded, the peritoneum, which is carried before it, has its natural character, being a thin and dilatable membrane; and the situation of the parts is such as an anatomist would make in the dead body, in order to demonstrate the relation of parts. Were the surgeon, then, to operate at the time of the rupture coming down, while yet the sac has not formed its adhesions, and the tendons of the muscles are evidently embracing and constricting the peritoneal sac, he might, after a neat dissection, succeed in reducing the portion of the gut; the sac either being pushed up with it, or being allowed to remain down. But, even in the case where the progress of the disease is rapid, and the danger great, we do not find the state of the parts to be such as will admit of the proposed operation.

When a hernia slips down, the tendon embraces the neck of the sac, and, with the surrounding cellular membrane, soon coalesces with it; while the sac, quickly losing its dilatability, becomes inflamed, thickened, and rigid. Although the tendon of the muscle may be the original cause of the strangulation; yet, in the latter stage, there would still remain, after its removal, a thick unelastic ring, formed by the neck of the sac. In hernias of some standing, what is called the ring (a term which is improperly applied to the splitting of the tendons in their natural state), is, in a still more particular manner, formed by the sac and common membrane, and less by the constriction of the tendons or ligament.

It must be recollected, that the gut has been down for some time without inconvenience: there has, however, arisen a cause of inflammation in the cellular membrane and peritoneal sac; the parts swell; but, of course, the tendons are stationary; they have suffered no degree of contraction; the strangulation arises from the change which has been produced in the neck of the sac, and the contents of the herina. The tendons may still be considered as the cause; but their dilatation will not now give any effectual relief; for the neck of the sac has been moulded to the compressed opening, and remains rigid and unyielding. On the other hand,

in the common method of operating, when the sac has been opened, and the intestine exposed, the nec of the sac being cut, it often happens that there is no occasion to cut the tendons; or, by touching it slightly with the knife, the point of the little finger gains all the dilatation which is necessary. We must add, that there is much doubt, whether this proposed operation would produce a radical cure. The necessary consequence of the common operation is, that there is a consolidation of all the parts; the tendon is but little injured, or cut up; the sac adheres, and its cavity is often obliterated. But in consequence of its being opened by this operation of the elder Doctor Monro, the ligamentous guard is cut freely and widely open; and as there can therefore be no thickening and condensation of parts, of course the patient is left more exposed to a future hernia, than even when they are simply reduced by the hand, without incision at all.

The proportion of cases in which the omentum forms part of the hernia, is very great; and still more numerous are those, in which it is partly the cause of strangulation. When a surgeon reduces a hernia without incision, he feels, at the moment of the happy effort, the flatus croaking under his hand; the tumor diminishes; and the intestines soon after slip up with little assistance. Here, the contents of the protruded bowels having been returned into that part of the canal which is within the belly, the excited contractions of the gut assist in drawing it within the abdomen. But in the reduction of the omental hernia, we have no such assistance; we operate on an inert mass; and as this mass has a narrow neck, the difficulty of the return of the venous blood through the ring of the sac, produces a gorging, enlargement, and great depositation of fat in it; while, being compressed in narrow bounds, it adheres together, and forms a mass, bearing a great disproportion to that part which is included in the neck of the sac. It will readily be understood, that this accident forms another bar to this operation; for the sac must be opened, and the omentum spread out, before it can be reduced.

These objections which we have stated, do not seem to have occurred to Dr. Monro; and, indeed, those which he has mentioned are of a very subordinate order.—

'They pretend indeed to assign as reasons for their practice, that unless the sac is laid open, we cannot know in what state the bowels are; that the intestines or omentum are liable to mortification; that collections of fetid water are apt to occur, which, on being pushed back into the abdomen, might be productive of mischief; that sometimes the cause of strangulation has been detected, either in the entrance to the sac, or among the bowels protruded; or they tell us there

are adhesions of the bowels to the inner side of the sac, which ought to be separated.

'But such kind of reasoning, if it has weight, goes farther than is intended; for it ought to prevent surgeons from attempting in any case, at least from attempting in most cases, the reduction of a hernia.

'Yet nothing is more common, than to see surgeons doing every thing in their power to reduce a hernia; and, in a few minutes or hours thereafter, instead of taking off the stricture by cutting the tendon, laying open the herniary sac, as if the reduction of the bowels would otherwise have been unsafe. Surely no reason can be given why the reduction of the bowels should be safe before the tendon is out, but unsafe after it is cut.'

Now, this leads to useful explanation. When a surgeon is reducing a hernia by the hand, and by putting the patient into a variety of postures (viz. by the taxis), he knows that there is a certain degree of force which ought to be used; and the superiority of one surgeon over another consists chiefly in this, that a skilful man knows what exertion he can use with safety, and when it is adviseable to desist. If he goes beyond this allowable degree of force, he is guilty of great imprudence; he excites a rapid increase of inflammation, or actually ruptures the bowel. When, therefore, a surgeon, using his exertion with discrimination and skill, relieves his patient, he is assured that he has not gone the length of injuring the parts, and that the strangulation was not complete, or the disease far advanced; otherwise, his operation could not have been attended with so perfect an effect. He is therefore under no alarm; nor does he conceive the possibility of his having reduced the contents of a hernia, which has advanced so far towards mortification as to render it dangerous. The distinction, which the Doctor seems to have overlooked, is, that, after all attempts have failed, after a thorough conviction has arisen that the case is a confirmed strangulation, and the operation is determined on, there is a probability that the disease may have verged to its termination in gangrene; so that the reduction ought not to be attempted without examination.

We recollect a case which will illustrate this, and, at the same time, be a caution to surgeons, and above all, to the younger practitioners.

Certain surgeons, in a provincial hospital, were convoked in consultation upon the case of a poor man, who, after the usual train of symptoms, was sinking in the last stage of an incarcerated hernia. His breathing was weak, his pulse low, his belly tense, and he had incessant sickness. The surgeons, compre-

hending the case, yet knowing how deceitful such symptoms sometimes are, examined and attempted the reduction by such gentle means as they thought the high state of inflammation and tenderness of the parts would bear. An operation having been considered as absolutely necessary, the surgeons were assembled in the morning; when the house clerk, with no small self-gratulation in his countenance, informed the surgeons that he had reduced the hernia without assistance, and that the man was completely relieved. The poor man was relieved; but it was by the harbinger of death: gangrene had taken place of pain and great suffering—the mortified intestine was indeed reduced.

But, in considering this question of the operation proposed by the elder Dr. Monro, we must not forget our author, and that his intention was to write on CRURAL HERNIA. As introductory to this subject, we are favoured with an elaborate, but imperfect description of the crural arch. And here, among other matters of great importance, he has discovered that there are distinctions betwixt male and female. The Doctor then pays some compliments to M Gimbernat, which we really do not conceive to be merited, and proceeds to expatiate on the advantage of his plan of operation.

If there be any particular object more than the intention of writing implies here, it is to draw a parallel betwixt the operation of M. Gimbernat and the common operation for crural hernia. We are sorry to find, however, that our author leaves us without the sanction of his authority for either manner of operating; his judgment is held in complete suspense, between the novelty of M. Gimbernat's operation, and the merits of that description which he has himself given us of the common method. We shall therefore endeavour to throw out some hints to assist our readers in forming their judgment on this point.

The study of anatomy must certainly be the principal and fundamental branch of education of him who is to attempt the improvement of surgery—but it is not the whole; for, without having observed the parts in their diseased state (not in bottles), and often have watched the skilful surgeon in his operation, and having also practised with his own hands, most erroneous ideas may be entertained. Gimbernat's operation has evidently been suggested by speculation upon the view of parts in their natural state, and not from any observation of the difficulties which embarrass the surgeon in his operation.

This gentleman, introducing his directory and bistoury on the side of the sac next the pubes (most awkwardly with both his hands), runs them inwards, so as to cut up the attachment of

the *poupart* ligament to the os pubis. By this rude operation, there is danger of wounding arteries—there is great danger of wounding the intestine; which, being much distended, will, even in the common operation, get before the knife; and much more probably will this happen, when you have got under the protruded bowel, and are cutting with both hands. Those who have seen the operation for the femoral hernia, and have observed the depth of the neck of the sac, and the manner in which the bowel sometimes rises up, and conceals its strangulated part, may form a just conception of the danger of this deep lateral cut. Further, the great foundation, and the strength of the ligamentous connexion of all the lower parts of the belly is done away by this operation; of course, it must leave the parts open to future hernia, in a greater degree, than when the operation is performed in the common and approved method.

In regard to the description we have of the operation, as commonly performed, we need only observe, that the author speaks of cutting the tendon, fibre after fibre, without entering the knife deep under the tendon; which is just our idea; but he afterwards alarms us 'with a sweep, and extensive incision.'

In concluding, we may observe, that through the whole treatise, the author shows a most depraved appetite for strange and uncommon cases, with an unaccountable reluctance to disclose the results of his investigation. Indeed, we are sometimes led to imagine that he requires some external excitement to divulge his secret knowledge; for he has a way of saying he knows of a case, which seems to imply that his intelligence and information are greater than he chooses to express. There is mention made of some facts, to which we should object, did our limits permit: yet we must, at all events, protest against the practice related in the case, p. 17. There are also, we conceive, several mistakes in pathology; which, however, we hope will have no very bad influence upon the practice of surgery. On the subject of the *diverticula ilii*, and the history of the subject of *anus* at the groin, he shows a want of reading and investigation, that surprised us; and, instead of speculating on the formation of these appendices, we should recommend to the author's perusal Morgagni, Ruysch, and Palfin, and the papers of M. Mery and M. Littre (*Acad. R. des Sciences*), where he will find both sufficient speculation, and well told cases.

With regard to the following subjects, he is exceedingly deficient:—umbilical hernia; congenital hernia; general symptoms; *diagnosis* and *prognosis*. Indeed, were it not for the glaring titles, we should sometimes have been at a loss to discover the subject of discussion; and yet this small performance is every

where eked out with large extracts from the most common and familiar books.

Upon the whole, we are rather inclined to assign this author a few years of additional probation, before we pass any definitive judgment on his merits as an author, and to look upon his present defects as the consequence of inexperience, and a premature thirst for distinction. As he is necessarily secluded from the practice of surgery, we would advise him, if he continues to write on surgical operations, to converse with those who are most in the habit of performing them and to enter into all their difficulties, and the occurrences and disappointments they meet with in the practice of their profession. After he has thus made himself master of the facts, let him labour to explain and do away their difficulties and prejudices, inform them of their errors, and relieve their minds of their perplexities and apprehensions. Above all, let him remember, that, in proportion to the rarity of a case, is the smallness of its importance in practice; and let him either cease to boast of his opportunities, or prove more satisfactorily to the world that he has known how to profit by them.

ART XII. *Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, in the years* 1793 *and* 1794. Translated from the original German of Professor Pallas Counsellor of State to the Emperor of Russia, Member of the principal Literary Societies of Europe, &c. &c. Vol II. 4to. Longman & Rees, London. 1803.

WHILE France and England were prosecuting voyages of discovery over the whole face of the globe, and examining the limits of many regions with a curiosity wholly unknown to those who inhabited them, the Empress Catherine indulged her magnificent spirit, by exploring the empire which she governed; and, without quitting its limits, brought to light as much knowledge, as other princes who sent round the earth to collect it.

To us, whom a few days may convey with ease and security, from one end of our territory to the other, it is a sublime novelty to hear of learned men being absent for years on their travels through the dominions of their Sovereign; ranging from civilized to barbarous, and from barbarous to polished men; and emerging from frost and snow into the fine regions of the sun, under the protection of the same name, and the authority of the same laws.

The principal persons selected by the Academy of Petersburgh for these important excursions were, Mess. Lepechin, Guldænstedt, Gmelin, and Pallas.

Gmelin began his travels in 1768 or 1769. His journey was through Moscow and Paulousk to Azof. From this place he passed through Tzaritzin to Astracan; travelled through the north of Persia; returned to Entzili on the south shore of the Caspian; and from thence to Astracan in 1772. He was seized on his return, when only four days journey from the Russian dominions, by Usmei Khan, a Tartar prince, and expired in prison at Achmet Kent, in Mount Caucasus.

Guldænstedt, in the year 1769, passed through Tzaritzin and Astracan to the confines of Persia, near the western shore of the Caspian; examined various countries in the eastern extremity of Caucasus; and reached Ossetia in the most elevated part of that range of hills. He proceeded to North Caucasus, Cabarda, and Georgia: from thence he passed into Tmeretia, the middle chain of Mount Caucasus, the confines of Mingrelia, Middle Georgia, Eastern and Lower Tmeretia, and from thence returned to Killar. In the spring of 1773, he set out for Mosdok, and then went upwards to the Malka; thence to the mountains of Beschtau, from which he took the route of Tschekash. From this town he made a tour to Azof, crossed the Kalmius, following at the same time the Berda and the new lines of the Dnieper, till he arrived at Krementschuk, the capital of New Russia, where he was recalled.

Lepechin proceeded to the government of Nishney-Novogorod, to Simbrisk in the province of Kazan, surveyed the course of the river Tscheremschan, and travelled over much of the district of Orenburg. From Astracan he crossed the mountains which separate the rivers Volga and Yaik, and wintered in the Ural of Orenburg on the river Brelaya. In the month of May following, he pursued the course of the Brelaya, came to Ekaterinenburg, advanced to the Ural, and passed the winter at Tobolsk. In 1771, he visited the province of Vratka, and embarked at Archangel to visit the coasts of the White Sea. After wintering at Archangel, he pursued the same object, in the ensuing summer, as far as the western and northern coasts; and proceeding to the mouth of the White Sea, returned by the Gulf of Mezen to Petersburgh. During the summer of 1773, he surveyed various parts of the governments of Pscore and Mohilef, proceeded along the Duna to the Riga, and soon after terminated his travels at Petersburgh.

Professor Pallas was absent from Petersburgh six years. In 1768, he passed through Moscow and Musom to Casan. After his examination of this province, he passed the winter at Simbrisk. In 1769, he penetrated to the mouth of the river Yaic, where he examined the confines of Calmuc Tartary, and the

neighbouring shores of the Caspian. After returning through Orenburgh, he passed the winter at Ufa, which he quitted the following summer, and pursued his journey through the Uralian mountains to Tobolsk. The next year, he traced the course of the Irtish, after examining the Altai mountains; and remained that winter at Krasnoyarsk, a little town on the Yenisei. From Krasnoyarsk he crossed the lake Baikal to Kiatka. Having penetrated into Dauia, he went on between the rivers Ingoda and Argoon: thence, tracing the lines which divide Russia from the Chinese Mongol Hordes, he returned again to Krasnoyarsk. In the summer of 1773, he visited Tara, Yaitzk, and Astracan, concluding that year's route at Tzaritzin on the Wolga; from whence he arrived at Petersburgh the ensuing spring 1774.*

The travels of the latter part of which we are now to give an account, were undertaken in the years 1793 and 1794, by the special permission of her Imperial Majesty, for the recovery of the Professor's health. With this publication, M. Pallas proposes to take leave of the literary world, and expresses, in a very feeling and affecting manner, those warnings of age which have admonished him that he is on the eve of bidding adieu to much more important relations. The first volume of this work contains an account of M. Pallas's journey from St. Petersburgh to Tzaritzin; remarks made in various excursions on the southern banks of the Volga; a journey in the spring of the year to Astracan; another from Astracan to the lines of Caucasus; observations made during a journey along the Caucasus; an account of the nations inhabiting Mount Caucasus; journey from Gengiefsk to Tsherkasf and Taganrof, and from Taganrof to the Taurida:—to the description of which latter country, the volume now before us is exclusively confined.

The population of the Crimea formerly amounted to at least half a million Its first diminution took place in 1778; when, in consequence of the peace concluded with the Turks, 30,000 Christians, comprehending many artizans and manufacturers, were removed to the country between the Don and the Berda, beyond the sea of Azof. Soon after the Crimea fell under the dominion of Russia, and between the years 1785 and 1788, many thousand Tartars sold their property at the lowest prices, and withdrew to Anatolia and Romelia; whither the surviving individuals of the family of Ghirei, and many nobles, also retired; not to mention those who were killed in the troubles, or afterwards destroyed by the plague: So that, according to Professor Pallas, the population of the Crimea is not at present more than 200,000 persons of all nations and conditions.

* This tour was published in five volumes 4to. by M. Pallas

The Tartar inhabitants of the Crimea may be divided into three classes. The Nagays, or unmixed descendants of the Mongolian tribes, who formed the bulk of the army of Tshingis Khan, which invaded Russia and the Crimea. These Tartars differ materially from the wandering Nagays, near the lines of Caucasus and the Akhtouba, who speak a language less corrupted by the Turkish dialect, possess more activity and vivacity, a greater disposition to plunder and rebellion—in short, exhibit a purer specimen of the genuine Tartar savage, than their brothers of the Taurida, who are emerging from the pastoral to the agricultural state, and unfolding the first germs of civilization.

The second class is the Tartars who inhabit the heaths, or Steppes as far as the mountains; and who, in the district of Perekop, still retain some traces of the Mongolian countenance. They dovote themselves to the rearing of cattle to a greater extent than the mountaineers, but at the same time are husbandmen.

The third class is composed of the inhabitants of the southern vallies bounded by the mountains; a mixed race, which has originated from the remnants of various nations, crowded together in these regions at the conquest of the Crimea by the armies of the Mongolian leaders. They display a very singular countenance, and are considered by the other Tartars to possess so little of the true Tartar blood, that they call them, in derision, *Mur Tat*, which signifies renegado. They are not unskilful in gardening and vine dressing; but are, upon the whole, unworthy inhabitants of the delicious regions they possess. They are so disaffected to the Russian government, that they are always the first to rise in rebellion against it; and in the last Turkish war, were all ordered to the distance of ten versts from the coast, in order to obviate the danger of their becoming spies and traitors. Professor Pallas thinks it would be for the general good, to remove them entirely from these vallies into the interior of the country, and to people their lands with more industrious settlers. These short and violent abridgments of the progress of amelioration, seldom however, answer the expectations which they excite: it is like transfusing blood, instead of strengthening the system, and disposing it to the process of sanguification.

The Tauridan Tartars, in their love of splendour, in the exclusion of their women from society, and in the unnatural practices which prevail among the other sex, evince some of the most striking features of Oriental nations.

The nobility and the priesthood are highly respected among them; and in former times, frequently made considerable resistance to the power of the Khan, who was always chosen from the family of Ghireis; which family Professor Pallas, in opposi-

tion to the common notions on that subject, will hardly admit to have been direct descendants of Tshingis Khan.

The religious ceremonies, nuptial solemnities, and other customs of the Tartars, agree in every respect with those of the Turks, which have been so often described by travellers. The practice, however, of polygamy, which we should have supposed more likely to have been adopted than any other, has never obtained among them. Male and female slaves are not common in the Taurida; but the nobility support great numbers of idle retainers, who accompany them when they make their entry into the towns, and swell the pomp of their retinue.

Europe, compared with the despotic governments of the East, enjoys a great liberty of thinking, acting, and writing. There, the activity of the human mind, long since thoroughly roused, is going on and increasing in velocity. Industry is become a passion; and even pleasure mimics labour in her amusements and relaxations. Tartars and Turks, like all other savages who are not compelled to toil for their daily support, find their minds and bodies to be mere lumber, and are ignorant how to dispose either of the one or the other. A Tartar will sit for whole hours on the same spot, with his countenance turned in one direction, and with a pipe in his mouth which he has not even energy enough to smoke. Hunting alone rouses a Tartar noble from his sloth; and he gets up to pursue animals that seem (if the question is to be determined by dignity of nature) to have almost an equal right to pursue him.

In the vocabulary given by Professor Pallas, the number of words adopted into the Tartar language from the Genoese, is very remarkable; a still greater number of Greek words has found its way into the same language: But the Professor will not allow, in conformity with the opinion of Busbek, that any vestige of the Gothic is perceptible in the different Tartar dialects. However savage the Tartars of the Crimea may be in other particulars, in the science of eating they rise above themselves. They have so far relinquished their ancient food of horse-flesh, that they will only feed upon colts; and to this diet is added forced meat balls wrapt in green vine or sorrel leaves, various fruits filled with mince meats, stuffed cucumbers, and a great variety of learned dainties, which Mrs. Glasse herself would not disdain to add to her high flavoured catalogue.

The peninsula of the Crimea, is the only region of the Russian empire in which almost all the products of Italy and Greece might be reared with success, and in which many of those products grow spontaneously. Wine, silk, sesame, olive, cotton, a great variety of dying drugs, which are at present imported

from the Baltic and the Caspian at a great expence, might be encouraged either in this peninsula or on the banks of the Kuma, and Terek; and by some obvious improvements in the present breed of sheep, woollen manufactures might be pushed in the Crimea to a great extent. The impediments to the prosperity of the Crimea are, the slothful and savage character of its Tartar inhabitants,—their disaffection to a Christian government,—the deficiency even of such bad population as the Tartars might afford,—the injudicious conduct of the Russian government in making the grants of the Crown lands the instrument of court favour and intrigue, rather than the incitements to industry, and increase of numbers;—to which causes is to be added, the great insecurity of landed property, from the inaccurate specifications of the Crown grants, and the tricks and chicanery to which that inaccuracy has given birth.

The seasons in the Crimea are very irregular. In 1795-6, in the beginning of February, all the spring flowers were every where seen in full bloom, though during the remainder of the month they were buried under a deep snow. The severe winters of 1789 and of 1799-1800, continued from the end of October till April, with various degrees of cold, accompanied by dreadful hurricanes, such as to sink the thermometer 18° below the freezing point. During the last of these winters, the Sea of Azof, the Bosphorus, great part of the bay of Kaffa, and several creeks of the Euxine, were completely frozen over. The winds are very variable, bringing from the four cardinal points the same species of temperature as with us. The climate, however, is so unsettled, that the barometer often varies six or eight times in 24 hours*. The summers are not less inconstant than the winters. The most salubrious of all seasons in the Crimea is the spring, which generally continues from March till the end of May. At that season, every thing in the vegetable world which is grateful in smell, or beautiful in colour, lends its aid to gratify the senses. The weather then is generally settled and serene, the heat moderate and refreshing: numerous flocks of sheep are seen moving in every direction, at the same time that village flocks are scattered over the pastures. Amid such peace, and freshness, and tranquillity, mere existence is a pleasure; and the mind loathes those studied enjoyments which it re-

* The Professor would perhaps consider this uncertainty of the climate as capable of being remedied by an increase of cultivation and population. He firmly believes, that the temperature of a country is materially altered by the number of fires which are lighted in it. This appears to us to be rather too fine a speculation.

sorts to at other periods for amusement and support. The most unhealthy season in the Crimea, is the autumn; at which time, bilious fevers, remittent, or intermittent, prevail to a great extent*. With the exception of these fevers, this country might be considered as one of the most healthy in the world.

The frequent failure of crops would (but for the careless style of cultivation) be a fact totally unintelligible in a country which paid such ample tributes, and sent such magnificent gifts of grain at the earliest period in which we are acquainted with its history†. The Crimea has erroneously been considered as the granary of Constantinople; an opinion which must in a great measure be attributed to the constant importation of corn from Little Russia by carriers who take salt in exchange for such commodity. If the native wines of the Crimea were encouraged by the imposition of protecting duties on foreign wines, all the interior governments of the Russian empire might, in the opinion of the Professor, be supplied from that province: and the sum of one million and a half of rubles, now paid for foreign wines, be deducted from an unfavourable balance of trade. The growth of silk has been but faintly attempted in the Taurida, though Professor Pallas thinks it is not only capable of that product, but of the growth of sugar also. In this latter opinion, however, Professor Pallas appears to us a little too sanguine; it is very inconsistent with all he has previously said of the instability of the climate. The assertion may be true partially, as we say grapes will grow in England, or apples in Scotland—courteously inferring, that what is true of a few select and sunny spots, is true of the whole climate.

By the emigration of the Greeks and Armenians, industry, which had not been very remarkable in Crim-Tartary, under the government of the Khans, was almost extinguished; and though this country has been subject to the dominion of Russia above fifteen years, there is a deficiency of the most necessary artisans, as well as of manufactures. Among the latter, that of Morocco leather is the most important; of which the red and yellow skins are in no respect inferior to those of Turkey. The cutlery of the Taurida is much esteemed for its excellent temper. Since the year 1795, some Greeks have employed themselves in burning

* The Professor wishes to lay the prevalence of the Itch upon the climate; but this disorder, we have some reason to think, is by no means confined to hot climates.

† Professor Pallas advances occasionally some very singular opinions: he speaks of the earth being manured in the Crimea by snails crawling upon it. We would not rashly deny any thing advanced by so great a naturalist; we only beg leave very humbly to doubt.

soda. To these articles of exportation are to be added, butter, salt, wheat, hides, and some coarse linen. The principal imports are raw and manufactured cotton, silk stuffs of various patterns, the wines of the Archipelago, brandy, dried fruits, and leaf tobacco. The value of exportations amounts to from 400,000 to 500,000 rubles. The importations fall short of that sum by 100,000 rubles; and the balance is principally paid in the base Turkish silver coin which is extensively circulated within the Peninsula. The foreign bankers, indeed, are eager enough to avail themselves of the high estimation in which the Tartars hold a genuine Mahometan coin; so that, even after its value had been raised 22 *per cent.* under the present Sultan, it still maintained its superiority over the Russian silver money, the intrinsic value of which exceeded that of Turkey in the above mentioned proportion.

Such is the general account which Professor Pallas has given us of this celebrated country; which, though now of small importance, except as a military station, may hereafter become one of the richest appanages of the Russian empire. It is poor and distressed at present; because it has not yet recovered the sudden and violent change from a Mahometan to a Christian government, one of the most striking and complete vicissitudes which it is possible for any country to experience; a vicissitude which has banished the greater part of the inhabitants of the Taurida, and rendered those which remain, incorrigibly disaffected to the Russian government. What the progress of its prosperity may be, when the remembrances of this revolution are softened away, must depend, of course, upon the wisdom and liberality of that policy which the Russian government adopts in the management of its colonies. It must be notoriously deficient in both these points, if it can prevent that aggrandizement which Nature has done so much to produce.

We are under the necessity of saying little of the merits of Professor Pallas; because no writer of travels is better known to, or received by the public. With his talents as a naturalist, every body is well acquainted: he is extremely accurate; and yet, though we are persuaded that he tells nothing but the truth, it is probable that his official situation under the government has prevented him from telling the whole truth. These scientific envoys must have known, as well as if they had read it in their instructions, that they were to bring back no discoveries unpleasant to Imperial ears. We rather pity than blame them; and are convinced, in the instance of Professor Pallas, that he has struggled hard to be as dutifully tame as he ought; and that he has a spirit abhorrent of injustice and political abuses. A

certain tameness in style, and prolixity in topographical relation, appear to sit upon him a little more naturally. Through some chapters of his book, not much more is to be learnt, than that he went up a hill in this place, and down it in that; that the first part of the road is woody, and the second is not woody. Here there is a large pond, and there a small pond; and, in a third place, no pond at all. The most valuable topics are all discussed in a few separate chapters; so that the plums and sweetmeats are all crowded into a small space, and the larger portion left insipidly plain. Pallas, however, is not of that description of travellers, who profess to amuse by anecdotes about waiters and chambermaids: his object is to make the world minutely and thoroughly acquainted with the country which he is sent to explore. If he is dry, he is perspicuous and accurate; if he is unamusing, he is authentic: and, long after many witty pamphlets, called books of travels, have perished, the works of Pallas will be studied as genuine and valuable descriptions of the countries through which he has passed.

ART. XIII. *An Historical View of the English Government, from the settlement of the Saxons in Britain, to the Revolution in* 1688. To which are subjoined, some Dissertations connected with the History of the Government, from the Revolution to the present time. By John Millar Esq. Professor at Law in the University of Glasgow. Four Volumes 8vo. London. Mawman. 1803.

THIS is a posthumous publication, and does not complete the plan that was announced by the author in his lifetime. According to that plan, the history of the English government was to have been brought down, in the concluding part, from the Revolution to the present times. The manuscript of this portion of the work, however, we are informed by the present editor, was not left in such a finished and correct state as to be laid entire before the public. The Historical View, therefore, is only brought down to the Revolution in 1688; and a selection from the materials for the subsequent period is given in the form of separate dissertations. The two first volumes contain that portion of the work which was formerly published in 1786, including the history of the government previous to the accession of the house of Stuart; and the two latter the history and dissertations that belong to the subsequent period.

The reputation of Professor Millar, we are inclined to think, stands somewhat higher with his pupils, and those who had the benefit of his acquaintance, than it is likely to do with those who may merely peruse his publications. The constant alacrity and

vigour of his understanding, the clearness and familiarity of his illustrations, and the great variety of his arguments and topics of discussion, together with something unusually animated and impressive in his tones and expressions, gave an interest and a spirit to his living language, that can scarcely be traced in his writings. All that vivacity and facility of statement, all that dexterity of reply, and power of picturesque illustration that delighted in conversation, and fascinated in his lectures, appear to have evaporated as soon as he took the pen into his hand. In his style and manner of *speaking*, there was something very characteristic and peculiar. The composition of his writings is of a very ordinary description. He writes indeed with great clearness and solidity; and is never for a moment either trifling, loquacious, or absurd; but he is not often very captivating in his manner, and makes us feel the *weight* of his matter rather too sensibly in his style: it is a style, in short, that is somewhat heavy, cold, and inelegant; and his works, though abounding in good sense and forcible expression, are apt to fatigue the reader from the want of that variety and relief, of which his spoken language afforded so eminent an example.

The style of conversation, indeed, in which most of his lectures were delivered, is not very easily adapted to the purposes of publication. The great merit, and the great charm of this style consist in its varying and judicious adaptation to the taste and situation of the hearers, and in the facility and animation with which every thing is communicated and explained. In addressing the public and posterity, however, no adaptation of this kind can take place: a greater reserve must be assumed: our positions must be fortified with greater care, and our conclusions enforced with more authority. In the deliberation and anxiety that necessarily accompany these operations, the spirit of our first conceptions, and the colouring of our original language, are apt to fly off: We are afraid to commit our dignity among strangers, by the use of a familiar or a ludicrous expression: We put our ideas into a dress of ceremony, and feel the oppression and constraint of it the more, for having been accustomed to the ease and the lightness of a less cumbrous drapery.

But though, for these, and for other reasons, the written style of Mr. Millar be certainly inferior in force and effect to his conversation, the character of his genius is very clearly imprinted upon both: and though it must go down to posterity with some disadvantage, from his contempt or unskilfulness in the art of composition, his writings will long continue, we have no doubt, to command the respect and admiration of his readers.

The distinguishing feature of Mr. Millar's intellect was, the great clearness and accuracy of his apprehension, and the singular sa-

gacity with which he seized upon the true statement of a question, and disentangled the point in dispute from the mass of sophisticated argument in which it was frequently involved. His great delight was to simplify an intricate question, and to reduce a perplexed and elaborate system of argument to a few plain problems of common sense. Though an expert dialectician himself and ready enough to acknowledge the merit of any ingenious paradox that he had occasion to expose, he had but little indulgence for those more diffuse and imposing pieces of false reasoning that rest on the prejudices of mankind, or are produced by the weakness and wavering of the author's own understanding. As there was no man, indeed, that ever made less parade of his own intellectual achievements, there have been few less disposed to tolerate the learned vanity of others. To form a sound judgment upon all points of substantial importance, appeared to him to require little more than the free and independent use of that vulgar sense on which no man is entitled to value himself; and he was apt to look with sufficient contempt upon the elaborate and ingenious errors into which philosophers are so liable to reason themselves. To bring down the dignity of such false science, and to expose the emptiness of ostentatious and pedantic reasoners, was therefore one of his favourite employments. He had, indeed, no prejudices of veneration in his nature; and was apt to regard those minute inquiries in which many great scholars have consumed their days, as a species of most unprofitable trifling. Mere learning did not appear to him to deserve any extraordinary respect; and his veneration was reserved for those who had either made discoveries of practical utility, or combined into a system the scattered truths of speculation.

To some of our readers, perhaps, it may afford a clearer conception of his intellectual character, to say, that it corresponded pretty nearly with the abstract idea that the learned of England entertain of a *Scotish philosopher;* a personage, that is, with little or no deference to the authority of great names, and not very apt to be startled at conclusions that seem to run counter to received opinions or existing institutions; acute, sagacious, and systematical; irreverent towards classical literature; rather indefatigable in argument, than patient in investigation; vigilant in the observation of facts, but not so strong in their number, as skilful in their application.

There is one attribute of a philosopher, however, which Mr. Millar must have been allowed in all countries to possess in great perfection. He wondered at nothing; and has done more to repress the ignorant admiration of others than most of his contem-

poraries. It was the leading principle, indeed, of all his speculations on law, morality, government, language, the arts, sciences, and manners—that there was nothing produced by arbitrary or accidental causes; that no great change, institution, custom, or occurrence, could be ascribed to the character or exertions of an individual, to the temperament or disposition of a nation, to occasional policy, or peculiar wisdom or folly: every thing, on the contrary, he held, arose spontaneously from the situation of the society, and was suggested or imposed irresistibly by the opportunities or necessities of their condition. Instead of gazing, therefore, with stupid amazement, on the singular and diversified appearances of human manners and institutions, Mr. Millar taught his pupils to refer them all to one simple principle, and to consider them as necessary links in the great chain which connects civilized with barbarous society. By the use of this master principle, he reconciled many of the paradoxes of history and tradition, explained much of what appeared to be unaccountable, and connected events and circumstances that seemed to be incapable of combination. While the antiquary pored with childish curiosity over the confused and fantastic ruins that cover the scenes of early story, *he* produced the plan and elevation of the original fabric, and enabled us to trace the connexions of the scattered fragments, and to determine the primitive form and denomination of all the disfigured masses that lay before us.

But though it is impossible not to be delighted with the ingenuity and happiness of the combinations by which these explanations are made out, and though it would be absurd, after what has been done, to call in question the soundness of the philosophy in which the principle is founded; it must not be dissembled, that Mr. Millar's confidence in its infallibility was greater than could always be justified. As his object was to obtain great clearness and simplicity in his theory, he was apt, when satisfied, upon the whole, of its truth, to pass somewhat hastily over all that could not be easily reconciled to it. His greatest admirers must admit, that he has sometimes cut the knot which he could not untie, and disregarded difficulties which he was not prepared to overcome; that he has asserted, where he ought to have proved; advanced a conjecture for a certainty; and given the signal of triumph, when the victory might be considered as doubtful.

As his habits and dispositions led him chiefly to the exertion of his intellectual and argumentative faculties, he had made no great proficiency in the finer or more elegant departments of literature. His imagination, though extremely active and vigorous in the coinage of illustrations and topics of persuasion, was not very easily excited by the more exquisite and delicate beauties

of composition. He had no great relish, we believe, for the finer kinds of poetry; and was apt to treat the extravagances and refinements with which some critics are so much enchanted, with a degree of ridicule which these qualities are not in general well calculated to endure. Of the more substantial merits of composition, however, he was an acute and able judge; and carried into the walks of literature the same powerful and sagacious judgment that availed him so much in the higher regions of philosophy: All the remarks which he has made upon these subjects are sound and ingenious; and though they do not indicate, perhaps, a mind of very nice sensibility, afford satisfactory evidence of the variety, as well as the solidity of his talents. Upon the subject of language, in particular, he had made many profound and original observations; though we do not know that he left any thing written upon the subject in a fit condition for being laid before the public.

In his politics, Mr. Millar was a decided whig, and did not perhaps bear any great antipathy to the name of a republican: yet there never was any mind, perhaps, less accessible to the illusions of that sentimental and ridiculous philanthropy which has led so many to the adoption of popular principles. He took a very cool and practical view of the condition of society; and neither wept over the imaginary miseries of the lower orders, nor shuddered at the imputed vices of the higher. He laughed at the dreams of perfectibility, and looked with profound contempt upon all those puerile schemes of equality that threatened to subvert the distinctions of property, or to degrade the natural aristocracy of virtues and of talents. At the same time, he was certainly jealous, to an excess, of the encroachments of the regal power; and fancied that, in this country, the liberty of the subject was exposed to perpetual danger, from that patronising influence which seemed likely to increase with the riches and importance of the nation. Although he had no vulgar or jacobinical antipathies against the power of a monarch, or the privileges of nobility, he thought that the popular part of our constitution was most exposed to danger from the general diffusion of luxury, the increase of the public revenue, and the enlargement of all our establishments. Upon this principle, he has commonly taken part with the opposition party in all the measures by which they have attempted, for these two hundred years, to limit the prerogative or the influence of the Crown, and to take the control of public measures more and more out of the hands of the executive. While no man could be more convinced of the incapacity and worthlessness of the clamorous multitude, he thought that the indirect influence of popular opinion was the

only safeguard of our liberties; and though sincerely attached to the limited form of monarchy established at the Revolution, he seems to have thought that the monarchy itself was the least valuable part of the system, and that most of its advantages might have been secured under another system of administration.

Although he was not always very cool or very moderate in his personal disputation, there is one peculiarity in his political writings that deserves to be mentioned. He not only conducts himself throughout with great calmness and deliberation, but passes from matters of ordinary discussion to the most controvertible points of his subject, without appearing to be conscious of the transition. It is common, as every one must have observed, for a writer, when he approaches to a matter of controversy, or is about to advance an opinion which he knows will meet with opposition, to prepare himself for the contest in one way or another, and to give warning of being conscious that he is going to put off the character of a judge, or impartial spectator, for that of a zealous and determined advocate. An ordinary writer never fails to give signs of trepidation as soon as he enters upon the *debatable ground*, and seems in general so full either of fear or of indignation, that he can seldom settle into his ordinary spirits for some time after he has quitted it. Mr Millar, however, whose intrepidity of character exempted him from any feeling of alarm, does no such thing: He passes from the general speculations of philosophy to the peculiar doctrines of his party, without altering his manner, or seeming to expect a different reception; and delivers the most questionable of his opinions with the same coolness and confidence that distinguishes his statement of the most obvious and indisputable truths. In this way, he avoids the violence and exaggeration that is apt to be engendered in the management of an avowed controversy; and maintains a certain dignity of discussion, that is lost either by bristling suddenly up to repel an antagonist, or by trying to mollify him with elaborate and ineffectual apologies. The only disadvantage of the practice is, that it is apt to seduce the unwary into the adoption of those contested doctrines, which are thus involved and connected with unquestionable truths, and which they are not directed by any mark to consider as suspicious. For those who have been accustomed to think upon these subjects, this danger, indeed, can scarcely be said to exist; but it should be remembered, that Mr. Millar's books contain the substance of the instruction which he communicated to his pupils, and that it was from them they probably derived their earliest impressions upon subjects of a political nature.

Although the greater part of these characteristic qualities are to be found in the work before us, and though the statement of

them may therefore be allowed to form no improper introduction to an account of that publication, we should scarcely have indulged ourselves in so full a description of them, if it had not been to supply a defect that occured to us, on first taking up the volumes in question. Though this work is now published by Mr. Millar's representatives at a considerable interval after his death, it contains no biographical account of the author, nor any attempt to delineate the general character of his genius or publications. To the greater part of writers it would certainly be doing no sort of injury to withhold from the public every thing but what they had themselves laid before it: but wherever the living character is really superior to the writings that remain to illustrate it, we cannot help feeling it as a sort of duty to erect some memorial, however frail, to its merits; and to endeavour, at least, to supply some of the deficiencies that may be found in that picture of himself, which every author exhibits in his works. —We now proceed to make a few observations on the volumes before us.

It is only the latter half of this publication, as we have already remarked, that is new; but, in order to judge of its execution we must state very shortly the scheme and order of the whole work. It was Mr. Millar's design to exhibit an historical view of the English government from the earliest periods of its independent existence, down to the present times. This subject he has divided into three parts. The first, comprehends the history of the form of government that prevailed, from the establishment of the Saxons, down to the time of the Norman conquest. During this period, the scattered tribes and families of barbarians seem to have gradually arranged themselves under the protection of a few great leaders: and the government came gradually to be administered by a great *feudal aristocracy*. The second period extends from the conquest to the accession of the house of Stuart, and is distinguished by the struggles that took place between the Nobles and the Sovereign, and the gradual predominancy of the latter, in consequence of the divisions that took place among the aristocracy, and the authority that was acquired by a common leader, after the nation began to engage in more extensive enterprises. In this period, therefore, Mr. Millar considers the government to have attained the condition of a *feudal monarchy*. About the period of the accession of James the First, a still more important change had begun to take place in the constitution of society; the introduction of arts and manufactures had made the internal aspect of the country pacific, and had not only engaged the retainers of the great lands in new employments, but had appropriated to other purposes the revenues from which they were originally maintained.

At the beginning of the third period, therefore, the lower orders had risen into consequence, while the increasing expense of the government rendered it more necessary that they should contribute to the support of it. This gave rise to a series of eventful struggles between the Commons and the Prerogative, which fortunately terminated in what Mr Millar has called the *commercial government*. This third form was established by the revolution in 1688, and, by the subsequent increase of expense and of public revenue, has contributed to enlarge the influence of the Crown upon one hand, while it has promoted the cause of freedom on the other, by the general increase of riches and knowledge, and the gradual diffusion of political information among the people.

Of this plan, we have already specified how much Mr. Millar published in his lifetime, and how much was left unexecuted at his death. In estimating the merit of the part that is now given to the public, it is most natural to compare it with that which went before; and here we cannot help thinking that there is a manifest superiority on the side of the first publication. It is not natural, we will allow, to expect that researches into the dark and barbarous æras which were treated of in that performance, should excite an equal interest, or afford the same scope for discussion, with those inquiries that belong to a period with which we are so much more nearly connected; and *a priori*, it certainly could not have been presumed, that our attention should have been more powerfully attracted to the institutions of the Saxons, than to the errors and misfortunes of the Stuarts. Perhaps there is something in the very barrenness and unpromising aspect of the former speculations, that lead us to relish more highly whatever can be said with ingenuity or probability on the subject; while the notoriety of the later occurrences, and the facility with which accurate information may be obtained with regard to them, leaves but little scope for discovery, and circumscribes the limits of discussion. The chief cause, however, of this unexpected difference will be found we believe, in the nature of Mr. Millar's plan, and the peculiarity of the talents which he has devoted to its execution. It was his view to illustrate what was obscure or uncertain in the history of the English government. In the remote periods with which he was occupied in the former part of the work, he found obscurity and uncertainty enough; and the greater part of the lights he struck out, were kindled in the midst of utter darkness. In the subsequent part of his task, however, the facts were pretty well ascertained; and all that remained to be determined, was the merit or demerit of the actors. Instead of an historical inquiry, therefore, we are engaged in a political discussion, and taken away from the pleasant explanation of extraordinary occurrences, to listen to the controversial wranglings of party politicians.

But when we recollect that Mr. Millar's chief excellence lay in tracing the connection of those steps by which men advance from a barbarous to a civilized state of society, and in pointing out the circumstances that originally suggested or compelled the adoption of particular institutions, we shall see still more clearly, how it has come to pass, that he appears with the greatest advantage in discussing the early periods of our history. At the establishment of the Saxons in England, they were very nearly in the condition that is common to all barbarous communities, and their history might safely be taken as an example of what would generally happen in that state of society. The speculations that arise from the consideration of their proceedings, are connected, therefore, with a very wide and interesting field of discussion. They include, in reality, the general history of the species, and are susceptible of illustration from a great variety of remote and unexpected sources. The combination of these analogous views, and the elucidation that results from the comparison of unconnected truths, affords as captivating a display of ingenuity and as pleasing an exercise to the understanding as is to be met with, perhaps, in the whole range of human speculations. When we draw to the end of that progress however, the interest of the inquiry is diminished along with its difficulty; and the genius that had succeeded in explaining obscure usages, may fail to tie down our attention to the adjustment of familiar disputes. There is something less magnificent, and more perplexing, in these modern discussions; and the talents that astonished us with the first rude sketch of the edifice, may not always be able to engage us with the merits of the finer finishing.

In endeavouring, indeed, to recollect the impressions that remain on the mind from perusing the first part of this performance, we shall find that we have been delighted chiefly with the general dissertations that it contains; and that it is not the history of Alfred or Edward that enchanted us, but the history of human society. The speculations on the origin of the feudal system of property; on the institutions of tithings, hundreds and boroughs; on the nature of the national council, and on the original functions, and gradual elevation, of the great officers of the Crown—apply to all the European communities, and are even illustrated by references to the usage of remoter nations. In the portion of the work that is now before us, the interest is much less extensive; and the talents that are required for the execution of it, are quite of a different nature. The events that took place after the accession of the house of Stuart, are, fortunately for us, of a nature altogether different from those that are to be found in the annals of any neighbouring nation. The principles that are to guide us in our

judgment of them, can no longer be sought for in the common philosophy of human nature, but must be gathered from a particular consideration of the circumstances of this country. The events are no doubt sufficiently interesting—but their causes are more limited, and their succession seems less regular or necessary. The changes of our government, in short, became, from this period, a fitter object for particular history, but a less suitable one for a general philosophical dissertation. If we consider also, that a good part even of those speculations that might be applicable to later occurrences, had been necessarily suggested in the course of the preceding inquiry, we shall easily understand, how a great part of the novelty and interest of the subject has been exhausted, and how a more eventful period has furnished matter for a less interesting discussion. Without supposing any decline of genius, or abatement of diligence in the author, it is easy to conceive, that he could not always be original upon such a subject, and that he must sometimes be forced to borrow from other authors, and oftener to repeat what had been previously advanced by himself.

The first part of the third volume contains a review of the government of Scotland, which is almost a copy, in miniature, and in fainter colours, of the delineation that had previously been given of that of England. The advancement of monarchy was retarded, however, and the reign of the feudal aristocracy prolonged in the former country. Mr. Millar observes, partly by the rugged and inaccessible nature of the territory which surrounded every great baron with a sort of natural barrier, and partly by the slow progress of those arts and manufactures which were to raise his retainers into independence. The early history of the Scotish Parliament is still involved, however, in considerable obscurity; and all that Mr. Millar has concluded upon the subject, is, that during a period of two hundred years, at least, it was composed of the barons, who sat there in their own right—of the dignified clergy—and of a small number of burgesses. In consequence of its never having been divided into two houses, the barons possessed the whole legislative authority; and, in spite of the institution of the 'Lords of the articles' which had a tendency to subject it to Royal influence, there is something very remarkable in the rude and imperious manner in which this national council appears to have treated their Sovereign. The following passage, we think, is very curious.

'It was the practice in England, as I had formerly occasion to observe, that an act of Parliament should proceed upon a petition from the two houses to the Sovereign, requesting that some grievance might be redressed, or some branch of the public administration altered. This

humble and respectful mode of proceeding never had place in Scotland, where we see the national council holding a very different language. They assume a dictatorial tone—avow the enactment of laws by their own authority—and even frequently ordain, without ceremony, that the King shall carry their measures into execution.

'Thus, in a statute made in the reign of James the First, it is said, "the Parliament has determined and ordained, that our Lord the king shall *gar* (cause to) mend his money, and *gar* strike it in like weight and fineness to the money of England*."

'In another statute, the *Parliament ordains*, that the king shall command the judges to distribute justice impartially between the poor and the rich, and that he shall rigorously punish those who do otherwise†.

'In the reign of James the Second, *the three estates order* that courts shall be held at certain seasons throughout the kingdom; and that the *king himself* shall be in each town when the court is held, or near it, where his council thinks fit. The *three estates have also concluded*, that the king shall ride through the realm when information is received that rebellion, slaughter, or other atrocious crimes, have been committed, and shall cause immediate cognizance thereof to be taken‡.

'In the reign of James the Third, the *lords*, understanding that there has been great *sloth* in the execution of the laws relative to bringing in and keeping the bullion, so as to occasion great scarcity thereof, they require, that the king shall put the statutes on that subject *sharply* in execution, and shall appoint true and able *searchers* for the time to come§.

'The style of the legislature was gradually softened and varied in later times; but the custom of passing statutes in the name of the three estates of Parliament is continued occasionally through the reigns of James the Third, of James the Fourth, and of James the Fifth‖.

'The course of parliamentary business in England, by which every bill passed through both houses in the form of a petition to the Sovereign, produced, of necessity, a negative in the Crown; for a petition would have no force unless when granted by the person to whom it was addressed. But in Scotland, where statutes were enacted by the general authority of Parliament, there was no foundation for this controlling power of the Monarch. As Parliament, in that country, was not divided into two houses, the King does not appear to have constituted a separate branch of the legislature. He seems to have been originally regarded as the president of that assembly, and his voice to have been included in its general determinations. In the early histo-

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* Parl. 1. ch. 25. *Black Acts.*

† *Ibid.* ch. 49.

‡ Ja. II. ch. 5. and ch. 6. *Black Acts.*

§ Ja. III. ch. 80.

‖ See instances of this, Ja. III. ch. 130. ch. 131. ch. 132.—Ja. IV. ch. 37. ch. 82.—Ja. V. ch. 4. ch. 102.

ry of the Scotish parliament, we meet with no traces of the interposition of the royal negative upon bills; the style and tenor of those transactions is, at the same time utterly repugnant to any such idea; and there occur instances of statutes which are known to have been enacted in direct opposition to the will of the Crown. The religious reformation which took place in the reign of Mary, derived its authority from an act of the legislature, to which the assent of the Queen, or of her husband the King of France, was never obtained, but which does not appear, either at that time, or afterwards, to have been considered, on that account, as defective

'The Scotish house of parliament had thus the uncontrolled power of legislation. It exercised, also, the exclusive privilege of imposing taxes, together with that of directing their application to the particular purpose, and of superintending the expenditure of the money. It was accustomed to determine peace and war—to regulate the forces—to appoint governors of the fortresses in the kingdom—and to make provisions for arming the people, and for training them up to the use of arms.' Vol. iii. p. 46.—50.

The princes did not escape from this state of degradation till their elevation to the throne of England had invested them with a power and a splendour which no Scotish chieftain could presume to rival. Upon this occasion, Mr. Millar very ingeniously remarks—

'But while the nobles in Scotland were thus easily reduced under subjection to the Crown, the people at large were not raised to suitable independence. In England, as well as in many other European governments, where the prerogative advanced gradually and slowly, in consequence of the gradual advancement of society, the King was under the necessity of courting the lower orders of the community, and of promoting their freedom, from the view of undermining the power of the nobility, his immediate rivals. But in Scotland, after James the Sixth had mounted the English throne, neither he, nor his immediate successors, had any occasion to employ so disagreeable an expedient. They were above the level of rivalship or opposition from the Scotish vassals of the Crown; and had therefore no temptation to free the vassals of the nobility from their ancient bondage. A great part of the old feudal institutions, in that country, were accordingly permitted to remain, without undergoing any considerable alteration; and the troublesome forms and ceremonies, formerly used in the transmission or conveyance of landed property, continue, even at this day, to load and disfigure the system of Scotish jurisprudence.' Vol. iii. p. 74, 75.

The concluding part of this review of the government of Scotland, contains a theory and delineation of the Scotish national character, which may not only amuse our English readers, as the production of a native, but may serve as an example of the manner in which Mr. Millar attempted to account for every thing by

the general situation of the society. After observing that the reformation in Scotland was introduced by the people against the will of the Sovereign, and of the greater part of the nobility, and that the theological controversies in which they were consequently engaged, had a natural tendency to excite and sharpen their intellectual faculties, he remarks, that the institution and success of our parish schools is rather to be regarded as the effect, than as the cause, of this general desire of information—and that they would not probably have been established, and certainly could not have been attended, if there had not previously existed an effectual demand for the instruction they were calculated to convey. He then goes on as follows:

'While the Scotish nation, in general, received an intellectual stimulus, by the violent impulse given at the Reformation, the lower and middling ranks of the people were peculiarly affected by the slow progress of manufactures. In England, a great proportion of the inhabitants, engaging in active employments, and having their attention fixed upon minute objects, acquired, by their situation and habits, great professional skill and dexterity; but, in every thing beyond their own trade or profession, remained proportionably destitute of experience and observation. In Scotland, on the contrary, the great body of the people were either idle, or slightly occupied by a coarse trade or manufacture, in which various branches of labour were united—so that the same persons, though less dexterous or skilful in any one department, were not prevented from attending successively to a variety of objects, from applying themselves to different pursuits, and, consequently, from attaining different kinds of information. From such a difference of circumstances, knowledge, as well as labour, came, in the one country, to be minutely divided—and, though a great quantity of this mental treasure was contained in the whole aggregate, yet, from the manner of its distribution, a very small portion commonly fell to the lot of an individual; whereas, in the other country, though the sum-total of improvement was inconsiderable, yet that little was not appropriated in such diminutive parcels, but remained, in some measure, as a common stock, which every member of the community might bring at pleasure to market.

'In all parts of the world, it is accordingly observable, that the great body of the people, while they remain in a state of rudeness and simplicity, are distinguished by their intelligence, acuteness, and sagacity; and that, in proportion to their advancement in commerce and manufactures, they become ignorant, narrow-minded, and stupid. But, in the period of the Scotish history now under consideration, the lower and middling classes of the people were placed in the former situation; at the same time that, from the causes already mentioned, the more enlightened part of the nation was not altogether destitute of literature and philosophy. While a great number of all ranks were neither im-

mersed in business, nor engrossed by the early pursuit of gain, they were at leisure to procure instruction, to go through a regular course of education at schools and universities, and to spread over the community a relish for such parts of learning as were then fashionable. A strong predilection for what are called the learned professions, became thus very prevalent in Scotland; and men of an active disposition, little accustomed to an ordinary routine of employments, were easily induced to change their professional objects, or even to migrate into foreign countries for the purpose of advancing their fortune.

'The intelligence, sagacity, and disposition to learning, in the common people of Scotland, were inseparably connected with that modesty and reserve which makes a distinguishing feature in the manners of all rude and simple nations. These qualities proceed from the necessitous condition of mankind antecedent to the improvements of society, when, from the difficulty of supplying their own wants, they have little opportunity or disposition for exercising a mutual sympathy or fellow-feeling with each other; and, consequently, are ashamed and unwilling to disclose the secret emotions and sentiments which they know will meet with little attention or regard. That style of distance and reserve which the Scots possessed in common with all rude nations, was confirmed, we may suppose, and peculiarly modified by the nature of their government and political circumstances. As the common people were extremely dependent upon the higher classes, they became necessarily cautious of giving offence, and desirous of recommending themselves to their superiors by an obliging deportment, by obsequious attention, and by a studied expression of zeal and affection. The habits produced by such a situation are, doubtless, not very favourable to plain-dealing and sincerity, however they may fit the possessor for the intercourse of the world, and render him expert in smoothing the frowns or improving the smiles of fortune.

'The national characters bestowed upon the inhabitants of different countries must be received with large allowances for exaggeration and prejudice; though, as they proceed upon general observation, they have usually a foundation in truth. In this light, we may view the character of the Scotish nation delineated by her English neighbours; and, so far as the picture is genuine, it will, perhaps, be in some measure explained by the foregoing remarks.

'The shrewdness, cunning, and selfishness, imputed to the people of Scotland, are merely the unfavourable aspect of that intelligence and sagacity by which they are distinguished above the mere mechanical drudges in the southern part of the island, and by which they are more able to discover their own interest, to extricate themselves from difficulties, and to act, upon every occurrence, with decision and prudence.

'They are accused of not being over-scrupulous with respect to the dignity of those methods by which they endeavour to better their circumstances. It is to be feared that this accusation has no very

peculiar application to the inhabitants of the north. If it has any real foundation, it must undoubtedly be imputed to the debasing effects of the old Scotish government, and to the long continuance of that poverty and dependence, from which the people, in our days, are but beginning to emerge.

'The national spirit of Scotchmen has been much taken notice of; insomuch that they are supposed to be all in a confederacy to commend and extol one another. We may remark, that, as candidates, either for fame or profit, in the London market, they are greatly the minority; and it is not surprising, that in such a situation they should feel a common bond of union, like that of strangers in a hostile country.' Vol. iii. p. 89–95.

The history of the English government under the house of Stuart, is a subject of licensed and inexhaustible controversy. It is a subject, indeed, that seems to be set apart and consecrated as a field of political contention in which every writer must choose his side, and engage his antagonist. Into this *arena*, however, we by no means propose to venture ourselves, and have no inclination, indeed, to detain our readers very long with an account of the combat which Mr. Millar maintains in it. The greater part of his treatise upon this subject may be considered as a formal answer to Mr. Hume's history, or a specific antidote to the poison which he imagines it to contain. Though the differences that prevail upon this subject will probably never be composed while the constitution of this country exists, it is not a little remarkable, that all parties are now agreed upon the principle by which they should be determined, and that the dispute relates only to the degree or extent of its application. Mr. Hume admits, that Charles the First attempted many arbitrary things, and was guilty of great errors and imprudence; and only apologizes for him on the ground of his hereditary prejudices, the necessity of his situation, and the distrust which was naturally inspired by the increasing boldness and exactions of his Parliament. Mr. Millar, on the other hand, without absolutely rejecting these apologies, acknowledges that the Parliament ultimately carried their precaution and their vengeance a little too far; that their patriotism was tainted with fanaticism; that their republicanism was not seconded by the voice of the nation; and that it paved the way for the usurpation and military despotism of the protector.

There is undoubtedly a great deal of truth, and a great deal of partiality in the statements of both writers: neither of them suppresses or falsifies facts; but they both give them that disposition and arrangement that is calculated to favour their party. Mr. Hume certainly magnifies the tyranny and arbitrary conduct of Elizabeth, when he compares it to that of a Turkish Sultan,

in order to extenuate the unpopular measures of her successors; and Mr. Millar certainly does not make a very satisfactory answer to this representation, when he proves the constitution of England to be a limited monarchy, from the writings of Fortescue, in the days of Henry II. Upon this general point, however, we are satisfied that Mr. Millar is in the right, and that the government of England was always considered as distinct from the absolute monarchies that existed over the greater part of the Continent.

On the other hand, though Mr. Hume has certainly aggravated the absurdities of the puritanical leaders of that age, and omitted no opportunity to hold up the fanaticism of the Parliament itself to derision, it can scarcely be doubted that Mr. Millar has ascribed to them a far more unmixed and liberal spirit of patriotism, than they really appear to have possessed. It would be a hard problem, indeed, to determine what proportion of their acts should be referred to their impatience of civil oppression, and what to their religious discontents; but, that the latter had a very important share in their decisions, and was the main-spring of much of their zeal and activity, does not appear to admit of a doubt.

Mr. Millar is rather acrimonious in describing the conduct, and delineating the character of Charles I. He does not scruple to say, that he deserved death upon every principle of justice; although he is inclined to think, that it was not expedient to take away his life, against the general voice and inclination of the community. He considers his execution as a necessary step towards the establishment of a republic; and takes some pains to convince his readers, that a republic is the most suitable form of government, either for a very small or a very extensive country. We subjoin a part of this passage, as a specimen of the coolness with which this author conducts his speculations on the most inflammatory questions in the whole science of politics.

'If, by a republic, is meant a government in which there is no king, or hereditary chief magistrate, it should seem that this political system is peculiarly adapted to the two extremes, of a very small and a very great nation. In a very small state, no other form of government can subsist. Suppose a territory, containing no more than 30,000 inhabitants, and these paying taxes, one with another, at the rate of thirty shillings yearly; this would produce a public revenue, at the disposal of the crown, amounting annually to 45 000l.; a sum totally insufficient for supporting the dignity and authority of the crown, and for bestowing on the king an influence superior to that which might be possessed by casual combinations of a few of his richest subjects.

'Suppose, on the other hand, a territory so extensive and populous as to contain thirty millions of inhabitants, paying taxes in the same proportion; this, at the free disposal of a king, would bestow upon him an annual revenue, so enormous, as to create a degree of patronage and influence which no regulations could effectually restrain and would render every attempt to limit the powers of the crown in a great measure vain and insignificant. In such a state, therefore, it seems extremely difficult to maintain the natural rights of mankind, otherwise than by abolishing monarchy altogether. Thus, in a very small state, a democratical government is necessary, because the king would have too little authority; in a very great one, because he would have too much. In a state of moderate size, lying in a certain medium between the two extremes, it should seem that monarchy may be established with advantage, and that the crown may be expected to possess a sufficient share of authority for its own preservation, without endangering the people from the encroachments of prerogative. How far England was in these circumstances at the period in question, I shall not pretend to determine.' Vol. iii. p. 326-328.

There is nothing, we conceive, that shows more conspicuously the unreasonableness of that passion and partiality with which men are still disposed to canvass the transactions of this memorable period, than the unanimity which seems to prevail as to the merits of the Revolution in 1688. It is utterly impossible, however, to conceive, that those who approve of the counsels of Strafford, or lament the failure of the Royal arms in the subsequent contest, should be satisfied with the constitution that was then established, or feel any great veneration for that bill of rights which declared so many of the measures which they had attempted to justify, to be oppressive and illegal. On the other hand, it is not easy to reconcile the opinions of an author, who at one time approves of the conduct of parliament in insisting on taking the command of the militia, and the appointment of the judges and governors of forts, together with the right of creating peers, into their own hands; and at another, declares himself delighted with a settlement which secured all these prerogatives to the Sovereign. The truth is, that the pretensions of both parties were altogether inadmissible; and though an ingenious advocate may find apologies for either in the peculiarity of their circumstances and situation, it is obvious that these only apply to the moral conduct of the individuals, and do by no means extend to the merit or demerit of the actions they performed.

Upon some of the preliminary points, it may be difficult to determine to which side a good patriot should have inclined; but, after the matter had come to the issue of the sword, we are very clearly of opinion, that the success of the parliamentary arms

was rather to be desired than that of the royalists. The King's victory would probably have subjected the country for ever to an arbitrary and oppressive government—or if a degree of freedom and parliamentary interference had been permitted, it can scarcely be doubted that the old dissensions would have been renewed, and a second war engendered, of greater acrimony, and longer duration, than the former.

Mr. Millar is less merciful towards the Usurper, than any of our historical writers that we remember. After enlarging upon his tyranny and injustice, and on the shameless profligacy with which he abandoned all those principles of religion and political independence with which he had set out, he makes the following acute and characteristic remark upon the estimation he has obtained with posterity:

'When we examine the conduct of Cromwell in all its parts, it may seem surprising that his memory has been treated with more lenity and indulgence than it certainly deserves. This may be explained from the influence of popular feelings; and still more from the character and sentiments of political parties. His great abilities, the success of all his undertakings, and the respect which he commanded from all the powers of Europe, seized the imagination of Englishmen, and were calculated to gratify national vanity. The partizans of the house of Stuart were, at the same time, induced to hold up the favourable side of the policy of Cromwell, in order to blacken the memory of those patriots who were not less the enemies of that usurper than of the absolute power of the Crown. They affected to consider the usurpation of the Protector as a necessary consequence of the attempts to restrain the prerogative; were better pleased with the protectorate than with a republican system; and seem to have felt towards him a sort of gratitude for overthrowing that form of government to which they were most adverse.' Vol. iii. p. 369—370.

Of General Monk, Mr. Millar believes that his original intention, in marching from Scotland, was to seize upon the protector's place for himself; and that he only took up the idea of restoring the exiled Monarch, when he saw that the sense of the nation was decidedly in favour of that measure. The conduct of Monk was certainly very mysterious, and, in one point, almost inexplicable—but we do not think there is any great likelihood in the solution of Mr. Millar.

In the subsequent part of his treatise, Mr. Millar makes but few observations that are not pretty familiar to all who are acquainted with this part of the English history. The precipitate and unconditional restoration of Charles II., he alleges, entailed upon the nation all its former disorders, and almost ensured a se-

cond harvest of tumult and dissension. To the errors and weaknesses of that Prince, he shows no sort of indulgence; and is a little too harsh and vindictive, we think, even to his unamiable brother, when he seems to regret that he was not compelled to atone for his misconduct by the forfeiture of his life, as well as of his dignity. He says of him,

'As the character of this Prince procured no esteem, his misfortunes appear to have excited little compassion. He possessed no amiable or respectable qualities, to compensate or alleviate his great public vices. His ambition was not connected with magnanimity; his obstinacy and zeal were not supported by steadiness and resolution; though, as it frequently happens, they appear to have been deeply tinctured with cruelty. The gravity of his deportment, and his high professions of religion, were disgraced by narrow prejudices, and by a course of dissimulation and falsehood. His fate was not more severe than he deserved; for, certainly, the sovereign of a limited monarchy cannot complain of injustice, when he is expelled from that kingdom whose government he has attempted to subvert, and deprived of that power which he has grossly and manifestly abused. Impartial justice, perhaps, would determine that he was far from suffering according to his demerits; that he was guilty of crimes, which, in their nature and consequences, infer the highest enormity; and that, instead of forfeiting his crown, he well deserved the highest punishment which the law can inflict.' Vol. iii. p. 434—435.

The history of the Revolution, and the subsequent settlement of the constitution, is given rather concisely, and without any reflections of much importance. This part of the work, however, contains a very clear and masterly account of the parties that divided and agitated the nation during this reign: and the following eulogium on the Prince of Orange, is written with more spirit and animation than the greater part of the volume.

'It may be questioned who, among statesmen and heroes, have displayed the greatest genius and abilities. It is yet more difficult, perhaps, to determine, who has been actuated by the most pure and genuine principles of patriotism: but, who is the monarch that has conferred the most extensive benefits upon mankind, will hardly be doubted, while the actions of William III. shall hold a place in the annals of the world. Had it not been for the active, the persevering, and the single exertions of this Prince, it is more than probable that Britain would have been subjected both to an ecclesiastical and civil tyranny; that Lewis XIV. would have subdued Holland, and the estates in alliance with the Dutch; that the Protestant interest would, in a short time, have been annihilated—and that the greater part of Europe would either have been reduced to a vast, unwieldy despotism, like that of ancient Rome, or parcelled out

among a few absolute sovereigns, who, in the struggle for dominion, had been able to retain their independence. But the vigorous defence of the United Provinces, against the attacks of the French King, gave time for opening the eyes of many European princes. The revolution in England broke off at once the connexion of the kingdom with France, and with the Church of Rome; it not only secured her a free government at home, but united her under the same head with the other great maritime state which had arisen in Europe; and this powerful combination was followed by such alliances, and by such military operations, as were sufficient to restore the balance of power, and to frustrate those ambitious designs that were so hostile to the peace and tranquillity of Europe. In fine, the revolution in England kept alive that spark which kindled the flame of liberty in other countries, and is now likely to glide insensibly over the whole habitable globe.' Vol. iii. p. 483—5.

The fourth volume begins with a slight review of the government of Ireland, from the first settlement of the English, down to the establishment of its legislative independence in the year 1783. This sketch is written with remarkable clearness and spirit, and contains a very impartial account of the proceedings of the two countries. The succeeding chapter, 'on the political consequences of the revolution,' appears to us extremely valuable. After a short sketch of the constitution as it was then established, and of the precautions by which the Crown was effectually restrained from any abuse of its ancient *prerogative*, Mr. Millar proceeds to observe, that the preponderance of this branch of the legislature has now become probable a second time, from the great increase of its secret or indirect *influence*. This influence is derived from the vast increase of its revenue, and of the patronage which has arisen from the extension of the national dominions and establishments. The revenue, Mr. Millar observes, is now divided into two branches, the one destined for supplying the expenses of government, the other for paying the interest of the national debt. The first is a direct source of influence, as long as the Crown has the appointment of the officers to whom the money is paid. The second also increases that influence, though less directly, in two ways: First, by the successive expenditure of the sums which make up the capital of the debt; and, secondly, by the disposal of all the offices connected with the collection and distribution of the taxes for paying the interest. By the depreciation of money, and the general prevalence of habits of expense, Mr. Millar allows that the real increase of the revenue is not altogether so great as it appears to be; but, after making a liberal deduction upon that account, he sees great reason for apprehension from the influence of a Monarch whose revenue has increased from two millions to upwards of thirty,

since the period of the Revolution. The nature and extent of his fears, will be best estimated from his own words.

'We may further remark, that the influence, arising from the causes already specified, is apt to be the greater, as it operates upon the manners and habits of a mercantile people: a people, engrossed by lucrative trades and professions, whose great object is gain, and whose ruling principle is avarice: a people, whose distinguishing feature, as a great author observes, is justice—equally opposed to dishonesty on the one hand, and to generosity on the other; not that nice and delicate justice, the offspring of refined humanity, but that coarse, though useful virtue, the guardian of contracts and promises, whose guide is the square and the compass, and whose protector is the gallows. By a people of this description, no opportunity of earning a penny is to be lost; and whatever holds out a view of interest, without violating any municipal law, or incurring any hazard, is to be warmly embraced. *Quærenda pecunia primum.*

'From the time of the Revolution, accordingly, we may trace, in some measure, a new order of things; a new principle of authority, which is worthy the attention of all who speculate upon political subjects. Before that period, the friends of liberty dreaded only the direct encroachments of the prerogative: they have since learnt to entertain stronger apprehensions of the secret motives of interest which the Crown may hold up to individuals, and by which it may seduce them from the duty which they owe to the public. To what a height, in fact, has this influence been raised in all the departments of government, and how extensively has it pervaded all ranks and descriptions of the inhabitants!—in the army, in the church, at the bar; in the republic of letters, in finance, in mercantile and manufacturing corporations—not to mention pensioners and placemen, together with the various officers connected with the distribution of justice and the execution of the laws, the corps diplomatique, and the members of the King's confidential council. With what a powerful charm does it operate in regulating opinions, in healing grievances, in stifling clamours, in quieting the noisy patriot, in extinguishing the most furious opposition! It is the great opiate which inspires political courage, and lulls reflection; which animates the statesman to despise the resentment of the people; which drowns the memory of his former professions; and deadens, perhaps, the shame and remorse of pulling down the edifice which he had formerly reared.' Vol. iv. p. 94—6.

To counterbalance all these evils, Mr. Millar however remarks, that the rapid improvement in arts and manufactures, that has distinguished the same period, has produced a degree of wealth and affluence, which has diffused a feeling of independence, and a high spirit of liberty through the great body of the people; while the advancement of literature and sound philosophy, has effectually dissipated many political prejudices

and errors, and introduced such principles as are more favourable to the equal rights of mankind. How far these circumstances may be able to counteract the increasing influence of the Crown, Mr. Millar has not determined. The historical view of the government indeed is not carried any farther; and the remaining chapters of the work are occupied with separate dissertations, explaining and illustrating the nature of that process by which the diffusion of wealth and the cultivation of literature, have contributed to the maintenance of a free and independent spirit.

In the dissertation upon commerce and manufactures, we have a very clear and concise abstract of the leading doctrines of 'the Wealth of Nations.' The improvements which have taken place in those departments, have been favourable to liberty, Mr. Millar thinks chiefly in two ways: first, by affording the means of independent subsistence, and even the prospect of unlimited opulence to every industrious individual: and secondly, by facilitating the mutual intercourse of individuals, and enabling them to consult and combine for the redress of their grievances, and the vindication of their rights.

The effect of this increase of industry and opulence upon the character and understanding of the people at large, is opposite in their different circumstances. The subdivision of mechanical labour, has an unquestionable tendency to stupify the faculties, by circumscribing the range of observation and exertion, and reducing the workman very nearly to the condition of a machine: its direct effect upon the character of the lower orders, is therefore unquestionably detrimental. But, on the other hand, the ease and affluence which is diffused in this way through all the middling classes of the community, naturally gives them leisure and inclination for the cultivation of their faculties, and creates a great demand for all the productions of literature and the arts; at the same time that the labourers in these higher departments, are themselves enabled, by such encouragement, to adopt a division of labour that is attended with its usual advantages. The example of the middle classes descends by degrees to the ranks immediately below them; and the general prevalence of just and liberal sentiments, which are thus spread by contagion through every order of society, serves in some degree to correct the debasing influences of mechanical drudgery on the labourers. Though Mr. Millar is by no means insensible of the efficacy of this corrective, he is of opinion, that it is not sufficiently powerful to counteract the mischievous operation of the opposite principle; and earnestly recommends the adoption of every possible expedient for the instruction and illumination of the lower orders of society.

Thus far the subject of the dissertations is strictly connected with the treatise to which they are annexed. But when, in the succeeding chapter, we are presented with a general division of the kinds of knowledge, and of the liberal arts and sciences, and are afterwards entertained with a long speculation upon the foundations of morality, and the various modifications which it receives in the progress of society, we confess that we lose sight of the Historical View of the English Government, and can no longer trace any connexion between these speculations and the political condition of this country after the settlement on King William. Though these chapters contain nothing, perhaps, that is very original or important, they are written with great spirit and sagacity, and have the merit of stating some important truths in a very clear and striking point of view. What the author chiefly enforces is, that an opulent and commercial people are usually very deficient in the attribute of courage; that the higher orders among them become sober, but addicted to gallantry; and that justice, instead of generosity, becomes the reigning virtue of the whole nation.

In the succeeding chapter, which treats of the origin and progress of the sciences of *law* and *government*, we meet with a great number of remarks that are more judicious than original. The history of law is borrowed in a good degree from the writings of Montesquieu, Lord Kaims, and Mr. Smith, though compressed and connected with much of Mr. Millar's peculiar talent for simplification. Of government, he observes that it is founded altogether on two principles: the one, which is in a manner instinctive and irrational, he denominates *authority*, and states as the primitive source of all the governments in the world: the other principle is, a perception of the utility of government, and does not, in general, emerge, till men have advanced pretty far in science and civilization. Under the appellation of *authority*, he comprehends all that deference and admiration that is excited by superior personal accomplishments, by riches, and by birth, which, when aided and confirmed by long continued habit, form the only foundation upon which the greater part of governments can even yet be said to subsist. When gross abuses have been committed, however, and the faculties of men are called into action by their passions and necessities, they begin to wonder at their own blind submission to evils which they had it in their power to remove, and think of reforming their governments upon a view of their utility alone. The principle of authority, Mr. Millar asserts, was the palladium of the partizans of the House of Stuart; and the principle of utility, the guide and symbol of their opponents. The latter of

these principles, Mr. Millar concludes, is evidently destined to take precedence of the other, as men advance in the powers of reasoning and philosophy. Even the Tories have now abandoned, at least in their arguments, the untenable ground of authority, and contend for the enlargement of the regal power, upon no other principle, than its tendency to promote the good order and ultimate happiness of the community. Though the principle will not do to argue upon, Mr. Millar is far from maintaining that it is either entirely superseded, or without its use in the regulation of human affairs. The sentiment expressed in the following passage is extremely liberal and judicious:

'Upon the whole, it is evident that the diffusion of knowledge tends more and more to encourage and bring forward the principle of utility in all political discussions; but we must not thence conclude, that the influence of mere authority, operating without reflection, is entirely useless. From the dispositions of mankind to pay respect and submission to superior personal qualities, and still more to a superiority of rank and station, together with that propensity which every one feels to continue in those modes of action to which he has long been accustomed, the great body of the people, who have commonly neither leisure nor capacity to weigh the advantages of public regulations, are prevented from indulging their unruly passions, and retained in subjection to the magistrate. The same dispositions contribute in some degree to restrain those rash and visionary projects, which proceed from the ambition of statesmen, or the wanton desire of innovation, and by which nations are exposed to the most dreadful calamities. Those feelings of the human mind, which give rise to authority, may be regarded as the wise provision of nature for supporting the order and government of society; and they are only to be regretted and censured, when, by exceeding their proper bounds, they no longer act in subordination to the good of mankind, but are made, as happens indeed very often, the instruments of tyranny and oppression.' Vol. iv. p. 309. 310.

The last discourse is upon the subject of the fine arts, and is so far connected with the preceding dissertations, and the general subject of the work, that it treats of their gradual progress in the different stages of society, and of the changes which have been produced upon them by the introduction of wealth and manufactures. This essay was left unfinished: it proposed to treat of literary composition in general, under the heads of Poetry and Eloquence; but the history of poetry alone is completed, and the work concludes at the point where the discussion of eloquence should have begun. By poetry, Mr. Millar means all those compositions, whether in a metrical form or not, the primary end of which is delight or entertainment. Those he divides, somewhat loosely, into epic and dramatic, and endeavours,

in a rapid and animated narrative, to trace the history of each in its progress through a rude and an improved state of society. His representation of the epic poetry of early ages is like that of other critics. It is sublime, harsh unconnected, extravagant, and unequal: by degrees it assumes more elegance and method; and at length, when the beauties of natural expression are exhausted, and the public ear becomes familiar with wonders, and disgusted with imitation, it sinks, through the desire of novelty, into pointed expression, and correct, but ordinary sentiments. From this stage, Mr. Millar alleges, the transition is easy to prose fictions and novels, which are more easily adapted to the occurrences of modern life; and, by pretending to humbler excellences, are less apt to become ridiculous. This is the natural progress and order of things, when a nation runs its career by an internal impulse, and produces, itself, the models upon which it is continually attempting to improve. In modern Europe, however, the first steps were a little inverted: the writings of the Greeks and Romans became the subject of early imitation; and the childish taste of those ages was more captivated by the wild and fantastic efforts of their declining genius, than by the purer exertions of their earlier days. The gradual refinement of taste corrected this error; and the poetry of Europe grew simple, as well as regular, before it began to die away before the passion for novelty, and the increasing fastidiousness of a more enlightened public. In reality, we are very much inclined to agree with Mr. Millar, that, in the present state of society in France and England, it is much to be doubted, whether a long epic poem, however excellent in its way, would be greatly relished by the generality of the people. The judgment and reasoning faculties of men have been improved lately, perhaps in some degree at the expense of their poetical sensibility; and, in a work of any length, we rather believe that the general taste would require something that came nearer the language and incidents of real life, than the metaphors, and majesty, and machinery of an epic composition. Poetry was certainly meant for amusement; and yet, among those who read for amusement, the worst of Mr. Lane's novels is perused with greater avidity than the finest passages of Milton.

That part of the essay which treats of dramatic poetry, is written with uncommon spirit and facility. In tragedy, he observes, the great difficulty has always been, for the poet to forget himself, and speak uniformly in the character of his imaginary persons. This difficulty has been greatly increased in those countries that have not adopted blank verse, by the importance assigned to correct versification, and the consequent introduc-

tion of a new standard of excellence. Even in those countries, however, the evil has at length been felt; and the prose dramas of Mercier and Arnaud seem evidently intended to restore to the French stage the language of nature and feeling, and to reduce the mere beauties of composition to their proper subordinate station. In Germany, where they have begun in this way, the process will probably be reversed. In discoursing of comedy, Mr. Millar attempts to adjust the long disputed boundaries of wit and humour by this obvious distinction;—that humour is the talent of exhibiting contrasts and incongruities in human character and conduct; while wit is the talent of exhibiting such contrasts in objects that have no dependence on the behaviour of mankind. Although this description be very far from accurate, its incorrectness does not prevent Mr. Millar from observing, with perfect propriety, that the introduction of refined manners has a tendency to diminish our relish for humour, and to increase our admiration of wit. The first part of this progress is delineated by Mr. Millar with so much spirit and characteristic method, that we shall beg leave to lay it before our readers in his own words:

'In Turkey, and in some other eastern countries, the contrast between a tall and short man is thought to be a reasonable cause of laughter; and a dwarf is, therefore, a necessary appendage in the retinue of Princes.

'Among our forefathers in Europe, the behaviour of a mere idiot was viewed in a similar light; and a person in those unfortunate circumstances was commonly kept, by men of wealth, as an object of ridicule. When people became too polite to laugh at a real idiot, they substituted in his place an artificial one with a motley coat, and with a cap and bells, to imitate the behaviour of a simpleton, but with occasional strokes of shrewdness and sagacity. This personage afforded entertainment, by appearing, according to the proverb, more knave than fool; and became at last a professed jester, upon whom the family in which he lived, and their guests, were accustomed to exercise their talents; but who, at the same time, like the clown of a pantomime, could shew, by his occasional sallies, that he was himself no mean performer in the scene.

'Persons of education, however, becoming gradually more expert in this kind of diversion, began to undervalue the studied jokes of these pretended fools, and endeavoured to improve the entertainment by jesting with one another, and by assuming, upon occasion, any sort of character which might contribute to the mirth of the company. The practice of *masquerading*, which came to be universal through a great part of Europe, arose from this prevailing disposition, and gave individuals a better opportunity of exercising their talents, by enabling them to use more freedom with each other, and

to appear unexpectedly in a variety of situations. Such was the style of amusement, which, having prevailed in that period of European manners described by Shakspeare, makes a conspicuous figure in the comic works of that author. As fashion is apt to produce fantastical imitation, it appears that the folly of individuals led them, in those times, to assume or counterfeit those humours in real life; an affectation which had become so general, as to fall under the notice of the stage, and to produce a ridicule of the *cheating* humour, the *bragging* humour, the *melancholy* humour, the *quarrelling* humour —exhibited by Shakspeare and Jonson, in the characters of Nym, of Pistol, of Master Stephen, or Master Matthew, and the Angry Boy.

'The higher advances of civilization and refinement, contributed not only to explode those ludicrous pastimes which had been the delight of a former age, but even to weaken the propensity to every species of humorous exhibition. Although humour be commonly productive of more merriment than wit, it seldom procures to the possessor the same degree of respect. To shew in a strong light the follies, the defects, and the improprieties of mankind, they must be exhibited with peculiar colouring. To excite strong ridicule, the picture must be changed; and the features, though like, must be exaggerated. The man who, in conversation, aims at the display of this talent, must endeavour to represent, with peculiar heightening, the tone, the aspect, the gesture, the deportment of the person whom he ridicules. To paint folly, he must for the time appear foolish. To exhibit oddity and absurdity, he must himself become odd and absurd. There is, in this attempt, something low and buffoonish; and a degree of that meanness, which appeared in the person thus exposed, is likely, by a natural association, to remain with his representative. The latter is beheld in the light of a player who degrades himself for our entertainment, and whom nothing but the highest excellence in his profession can save from our contempt. Vol. iv. p. 354—358.

The great exuberance of humour in the productions of English writers, Mr. Millar thinks, is to be ascribed principally to the great variety of professions and occupations which exist in this country among persons that are admitted into the same circles of society. Our humour, however, he is of opinion, is declining with the general improvement of our manners; and he is afraid that our serious application to business and politics will prevent us from compensating that loss by a proportionate improvement in wit.

Such is the substance of the volumes that are to carry down to posterity the reputation of a man, from whose conversation no one ever retired without information and delight, and in whom the faculties of just reasoning and animated discussion seemed at all times unimpaired and alert. The publication, we have already noticed, is scarcely equal to our expectations; but it has merits which

will always be unattainable by ordinary minds: it takes a firm grasp of the subject, and conducts the investigation with a degree of perspicuity that is never overshaded, and a sagacity that is but rarely deceived. In the political part, all the sentiments that are liable to be disputed, are delivered openly, firmly, and calmly; and those who do not agree with the author, can neither complain of equivocation, nor plead his example for being angry. When we consider that the substance of this work was originally delivered by Mr. Millar in a series of academical lectures, we shall easily be able to account for another peculiarity in its character. Every thing is delivered with studied perspicuity, and a sort of elementary simplicity. The general truth and theory is clearly and boldly asserted; and the difficulties and detail of the subject are sometimes passed over very slightly. To those who are already proficients in the study, this may not be altogether satisfactory; but, by the general reader, it will be felt as a great relief: and there are few indeed, even among those who have entered profoundly into the subject, who will not feel their knowledge rendered more manageable, and their conceptions more luminous, by the perusal of Mr. Millar's speculations.

Art XIV. *Athenæi Naucratitæ Deipnosophistarum libri quindecim: ex optimis codicibus nunc primum collatis emendavit ac supplevit, nova Latina versione et animadversionibus cum Is. Casauboni aliorumque tum suis illustravit, commodisque indicibus instruxit Johannes Schweighæuser Argentoratensis, Instituti Scientiar. et Art. populi Gallo-franc. socius, Antiquar. Literar. in Schola Argent. Prof.* Argentorati, ex Typographia Societatis Bipontinæ. Anno ix. (1801.)

THERE are few compilations from which the moderns have derived so much of their knowledge of the private life of the ancient Greeks, as from the Deipnosophists of Athenæus. It may not be superfluous to inform some of our readers, that the professed object of the writer was to detail to his contemporaries the convivial antiquities of their ancestors, and that he has chosen to convey his information in the form of a dialogue, as the most convenient and amusing. The fable, or plan of the work, is as follows: A considerable number of learned men, among whom we find the celebrated Galen, assemble at the table of Larensius, a liberal and wealthy Roman, where they bestow as large a portion of erudition on every part of their entertainment, as the memory or common-place book of the author could supply. So much of the business of human life is connected, mediately or immediately, with eating and drinking, that it does

not require any great share of ingenuity to introduce into a work of so miscellaneous a nature, much useful and curious information, which, at first sight, does not appear to be very closely connected with the science of cookery. 'Accordingly,' says the author of the Epitome, 'we find disquisitions on fish of every sort, together with pot-herbs and poultry; not to mention historians, poets and philosophers; likewise a great variety of musical instruments, witty sayings, and drinking vessels; royal magnificence, ships of prodigious magnitude, and many other articles, too tedious to mention.' Although this kind of conversation bears no very strong resemblance to the dying speculations of Socrates on the immortality of the soul, our author has selected the Phædo of Plato for his prototype, and has borrowed the beginning of that dialogue, with no alteration, except the substitution of the names of Timocrates and Athenæus to those of Echecrates and Phædo. A strong objection to the dramatic form which the work assumes, arises from the impossibility of collecting the productions of all the different seasons at one banquet. The author seems to suppose that an astonished fishmonger might exclaim, in the words of Theocritus, Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν θέρεος, τὰ δὲ γίγνεται ἐν χειμῶνι The loss of the two first books renders us unable to judge how far he was able to palliate this palpable absurdity. The most valuable part of the work is the large quantity of quotations which it presents from authors whose writings no longer exist. The Athenian comic poets afforded an ample store of materials, and Athenæus seems to have been by no means sparing in the use of them. Many of the extracts from their works, which he has inserted in his own, are highly interesting; and the mass is so considerable, as far to exceed in bulk all that can be collected from every other Greek or Latin writer. The number of theatrical pieces which he appears to have consulted, was probably not less than two thousand. The middle comedy alone furnished him with eight hundred.

Of the author of this work, which has derived so great a portion of additional value from the general wreck which has deprived us of the treasures of the ancients, nothing is known, except a few particulars which he has inserted cursorily in his work. He was a native of Naucratis, a city of Egypt, to which, in the time of its original kings, the approach of foreigners was restricted in the same manner as to Nangasaki in the modern empire of Japan. He declares himself to have been a little posterior to the poet Oppian; and, as that writer dedicates his Halieutics to the emperor Caracalla, the age of Athenæus may be fixed at the beginning of the third century of the Christian æra. His compilation immediately became the prey of other Compil-

ers, less diligent than himself. Ælian, who was nearly his contemporary, has made use very liberally of the Deipnosophists in his Various History. In a later age, we again find our author pillaged by Macrobius, who seems to have taken from him not only many of the materials, but even the form and idea of his *Saturnalia*. But of all writers, ancient or modern, there is none who is so highly indebted to Athenæus as the industrious Eustathius. Although the Archbishop of Thessalonica appears never to have seen the entire work, but to have made use of the Epitome, the stores of his erudition would be miserably reduced, if he were compelled to make restitution of the property of our author which he has converted to his own benefit.

By the same fortunate accident which has preserved a few of the writings of the ancients*, a single copy of Athenæus appears to have escaped from the ravages of time, ignorance, and fanaticism. That copy still exists. After the death of Cardinal Bessarion, who probably brought it from Greece, it passed into the Library of St. Mark at Venice. In this sepulchre of books it would certainly have continued for many ages, unknown to the learned, if the late revolutions, which have changed the face of Europe, had not caused it to be included in the valuable spoils of Italy which now enrich the national collections at Paris. It consists of three hundred and seventy-three leaves of the largest dimensions. Each page is divided into two columns. It is written without contractions, and, from the form of the characters, may be attributed to the tenth century. The subjunctive vowel of the diphthongs ᾳ, ῃ, and ῳ, is never subscribed, but commonly placed after its prepositive, in the ancient manner. The whole orthography is very incorrect, particularly in the division of the words, and the punctuation.

Many transcripts of this manuscript exist in different parts of Europe, which were probably made while it was in the possession of Cardinal Bessarion. All of them betray their origin, as, besides their coincidence in orthographical errors, the same parts

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* Among the good qualities of his host Larensius, Athenæus enumerates his diligence in collecting and preserving the works of ancient authors, which, through the ἀφιλοκαλία, *the want of taste*, of the multitude, were almost consigned to oblivion. The art of printing has lessened, but certainly has not removed the danger to which authors are exposed. Perhaps, a hundred years hence, a complete copy of the works of Blackmore may be sought for in vain. We recommend to modern Larensii the redemption of these and other similar productions from *tapers and defrauded pyes*. We tremble for the future fate of many of the most celebrated of our contemporaries.

are wanting in all of them. The two first books, the beginning of the third, a few leaves in the eleventh, and part of two leaves in the fifteenth, are wanting in the Venetian manuscript, and the deficiency appears evidently to have proceeded from accident. The same *lacunæ* occur in every other manuscript, but are exhibited in a manner which shews the cause to have existed in the copy from which they were transcribed. It is unnecessary to say, that the errors of the Venetian manuscript are in general faithfully retained, and the number of them considerably augmented.

Fortunately for Athenæus, the integrity of his work is in some measure preserved by an epitome of the whole, which has been transmitted to us without defalcation. This abridgment, if it may be called so, is nearly as bulky as the original work. The age of it is uncertain. It is executed in a careless manner; and the copy which the writer had before his eyes, appears to have suffered so much from time or accident that he frequently breaks off in the middle of an extract, and declares his inability to decypher the remainder. From these sources our editions are derived; and it will easily be seen that where the original copies are so few and so faulty, conjectural emendation will find ample scope to display its powers. The fact is, that although the game has been considerably thinned by Casaubon and some other sagacious critics, there still remain sufficient materials to exercise the industry of the keenest grammatical sportsman.

The editions of Athenæus are three, or rather five, in number. The first was printed at Venice by Aldus, in the year 1514. Musurus, who was the editor, was obliged to make use of a very faulty manuscript, and to supply the deficiencies of the original from the epitome; a practice which has been imitated in all the succeeding editions. The *lacuna* in the eleventh book, however, was not perceived; and the corresponding portion of the epitome did not appear until the publication of Casaubon's commentary. Twenty-one years afterwards, a new edition was published at Basil, which, in most of the passages in which it differs from that of Aldus, recedes still further from the purity of the original. In this edition, the passages of Aristotle and Theophrastus, which are adduced by Athenæus, are professedly altered to the readings of the then existing copies, by which means many important various lections in the writings of these two philosophers are completely obliterated. Neither of these editions is accompanied with a translation, or with notes. The third edition is that of Isaac Casaubon, of which there are three different impressions, in the years 1597, 1612, and 1664, which do not differ considerably from each other. To these editions is annexed the Latin translation of James Dalechamp of Caen,

which was first printed by itself in the year 1583. The Greek text is much more perfect and accurate than in the preceding editions; as in the long interval which elapsed between that of Basil, and the first of Casaubon's many new manuscripts had been discovered, and much labour had been bestowed on Athenæus by some of the most celebrated scholars of that age. There exists an edition of the epitome of the first book by Tumebus, of a prior date to that of Casaubon, in which the editor has indulged great license of conjectural emendation. It seems to have been meant as a specimen of an entire edition; but from the boldness and clumsiness of the alterations, we do not think that it is to be regretted that the design was laid aside.

The most valuable part of the edition of Casaubon is his celebrated commentary, which constitutes a folio of no inconsiderable magnitude. The work is dedicated, with much propriety, to Henry the Fourth, between whose character, and that of Athenæus, the author discovers the resemblance which, to common eyes, is certainly not very apparent. The work itself is so well known to scholars, that it would be superfluous to enlarge upon it. We must only observe, that many of the emendations which are proposed by Casaubon are violent and improbable, and that a still greater number may be considered as obvious to any person who is endowed with a moderate share of critical sagacity. Notwithstanding these defects, we know no work of this kind, except perhaps Bentley's dissertation on Phalaris, in which the reader is presented with such a mass of pertinent information. Unlike many commentaries, the text of the author is almost always kept in sight; and the erudition of the critic, although ample, is displayed without ostentation.

Two hundred years have elapsed between the publication of this edition, and the present performance of Professor Schweighæuser. From our previous knowledge of his labours as an editor, we certainly should not have conceived Athenæus to be the author most likely to be benefited by his exertions. The editor of an historian, and still more of a moralist, has a much easier and more simple task to perform, than must be undertaken by him who labours in the elucidation of an author of so miscellaneous a nature as Athenæus. We cannot avoid wishing that the editor of Appian, Polybius, and Epictetus, had continued in his original course, and had left the Deipnosophists to some person more accurately acquainted with the *minutiæ* of Greek literature. It is, however, far from out intention to speak with disrespect of Professor Schweighæuser; particularly as he candidly admits the deficiencies of which we complain.

The greatest advantage which he has enjoyed, is the collation of the Venetian manuscript, which, as we have already observ-

ed, is now deposited in the grand repository for all the stolen goods in Europe. An accurate collation of this venerable original, almost entirely supersedes the necessity of examining other copies. All readings which are found only in the latter, are to be considered either as mistakes, or as conjectural emendations of the transcriber. We could have wished that the Professor had seen this manuscript with his own eyes. We think that no person ought to undertake an edition, the merit of which depends greatly on the accurate examination of a single manuscript, unless he has an opportunity of inspecting it in person. We have no particular reason to think lowly of the abilities of young Mr. Schweighæuser, the actual collator; yet we think that the Professor himself would have had no cause for repentance, if he had spent one of his vacations in the national library at Paris. Besides the Venetian manuscript, he had the use of a valuable copy of the epitome from which considerable advantage has accrued both to those parts of the work which exist only in the abridged form, and to those which have been transmitted to us entire.

It would ill become us, who inhabit this metropolis of false quantities, to censure with asperity a Professor of the University of Strasburg, for a fault which is imputed to ourselves by our fellow-citizens of the south. Were it not for this consideration, we should be tempted to inveigh with severity against some of the Iambic verses with which the Professor has presented us, particularly as many of them appear to us to have no other faults than those which are produced by his alterations. We shall exhibit specimens, before we conclude the present article.

We have now before us only two volumes of the text, containing six books, and two of the commentary, containing four. If the edition be continued on the same scale, it will extend to thirteen volumes; and, as the price is by no means low in this country, many readers will be precluded from the use of it. The great price of Greek books we consider as one of the most serious obstacles to the cultivation of that department of literature. In the present case, the expense might have been diminished by omitting the Latin version. Few persons are tempted to read Athenæus, except those who do not require a translation. The commentary might also have been compressed considerably, without any injury to the work. As the animadversions of Casaubon are not republished entire, the present edition does not preclude the use of the former. These, however, are petty objections. The principal point which we are to examine, is the degree of purity to which, by the assistance of manuscripts, the conjectures of other critics, and the sagacity of the present edi-

tor, the text of Athenæus has been restored. We shall exhibit to our readers some of the principal novelties which appear in the six first books. In most places where the editor has deviated from the text of the former editions, he has judiciously placed the common reading under the text. We lament that he has not faithfully observed this rule in every alteration. By these means, the comparison of this edition with the former would be rendered extremely easy. We cite the numerals of the common editions, which are retained in the inner margin of the present.

P. 3. D. Antiphanes:

ὁ θυρωρὸς ἰλαρὸς πρῶτόν ἐστιν, ἢ κυνὶ
ἔστηκε καὶ προσῆλθεν, * ὑπήντησέ τις,
δίφρου εὐθέως ἔθηκεν.

In the second verse, which wants a syllable, Professor Schweighæuser reads ὑπαντήσας δέ τις.

P. 5. B. Plato the Comic Poet:

* * * * ἐγὼ δ' ἐνθαδ' ἐν τέρεμνίᾳ.

The Professor, who is by no means afraid of a *hiatus*, proposes

* * ἐγὼ δ' ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐρεμνίᾳ.

P. 6. C. Tithonus is said to be suspended ἐν θαλάμῳ, *in a bed-chamber*. Professor S. reads ἐν ταλάρῳ, *in a wicker cradle*.

P. 11. D. Æschylus:

καὶ ταξιάρχας, καὶ στρατάρχας, καὶ ἑκατοντάρχας
ἔταξα.

Palamides, whose words these are, could hardly boast that he invented the office of a commander in chief, although he might settle the economy of the inferior leaders. Professor S. reads

καὶ ταξιάρχας, χἀκατοντάρχας στρατῷ
ἔταξα.

P. 23. A. Antiphanes:

τὰ δ' ἀντιτείνοντ' οἰονεὶ δίψαν τινὰ
ἢ ξηρασίαν ἴσχουτ' αὐτάπρεμνον ἀπόλλυται.

Professor S. proposes σχόντ' for ἴσχουτ' in the second verse: but he is not aware that the second syllable of ξηρασία, which is derived from ξηραίνω, is long. The true reading is

- - - - - δίψαν τίν', ἢ
ξηρασίαν ἴσχοντ', ἀπόπρεμνον ἀπόλλυται.

P. 35. D. Diphilus:

τόν τ' ἀσθενῆ τολμᾶν τι, τὸν δειλὸν θρασύν.

Professor S. proposes θρασεῖν. Θαρσεῖν and θαρρεῖν are common: but we do not at present recollect an instance of θρασεῖν.

P. 36. F. Alexis:

ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπογραφὰς ἀνδὴς γίγνεται.

As this verse contains a syllable too much, Professor S. changes the order of the words, and places γὰρ before ἀνδὴς. The true reading is the participle of the aorist ἀπογράς, which, being rather uncommon, was altered by the transcriber.

P. 39. Amphis: τὸ νίκτας πάνυ μάττων ἐσθίω, διαπίνω τ' ἀμβροσίαν, καὶ τῷ Διί, &c. Professor S. reduces these words to metre in the following manner:

\- - - - - τὸ νίκτας ἐσθίω, πάνυ
μάττων, διαπίνω τ' ἀμβροσίαν, καὶ τῷ Διί, &c.

We would prefer the omission of the article before νίκτας, and would read

\- - - - - πάνυ μάττων ἐσθίω
νίκτας, διαπίνω τ' ἀμβροσίαν, &c.

P. 40. E. Alexis:

τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας ἐπιφανῶς δεῖ ζῆν [ἀεί]
φανερά τε τὴν δόσιν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ποιεῖν.
ὁ γὰρ δεδωκὼς τἀγαθὰ, [τούτους] τῶν μὲν, ὧν
πεποίηκεν, [αὐτοὺς] οἴεται χάριν τινὰ
ἔχειν ἑαυτῷ.

The words in brackets were added by Casaubon to fill up the metre. We believe that the passage has already been corrected as follows:

\- - - - - τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας ἐπιφανῶς
δεῖ ζῆν, φανερά τε τ' ἐν δόσει τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
ποιεῖν. * * ὁ γὰρ δεδωκὼς τἀγαθὰ,
ὧν μὲν πεποίηκεν οἴεται χάριν τινὰ, &c.

By this arrangement we avoid the interpolations as well as the spondee in the fourth foot of the second verse. Although it is not our intention to propose emendations in Athenæus, except in passages where Professor S. has preceded us, we must suggest the substitution of ἀχαριστους or ἀχαρίστως for ἀχρήστους in the concluding part of this fragment.

P. 48. A. As a specimen of the ingenious manner in which Professor S. distributes those verses which are commonly written as prose, we will insert a fragment of Menander, from the *Prætermissa ex Libro secundo*, which probably belongs to this place. The Professor remarks, '*Versus utcunque, pro meo sensu, distribui.*' We denote his distribution by obelisks:

ἔργον [ἐστιν] εἰς τρίκλινον † συγγενείας εἰσπεσεῖν·
† οὗ λαβὼν τὴν κυλικα † πρῶτος ἄρχεται λόγου † πατήρ·
καὶ παραινέσεις † πίνειν· † εἶτα μήτηρ ἐντέρα·
† εἶτα τηθὴ παραλαλεῖ τις † εἶτα βαυβῶνος γέρων,
† τηθίδος πατήρ· ἔπειτα † γραῦς καλοῦσα φίλτατον·
† ὁ δ' ἐπινεύει πᾶσι τούτοις.

P. 49. E. Alexis:

καὶ μὴν ἐν ὕπνῳ οἶομαι ἀρακίναι
νικητήριον. λίγ' αὐτό. τὸν νοῦν πρόσεχε δή

Professor S. proposes νικήτριον. We would read

καὶ μὴν ἐνύπνιον οἶομαι νικητικὸν
ἐορακέναι. λέγ' αὐτό, &c.

We observe that in some places Professor S. has restored the true orthography ἑόρακα. In the passage which immediately follows that which we have just cited, the same alteration is to be made:

* * ἑόρακας πώποτ' ἐσκευασμένον
ἥνυστρον, ἢ σπλῆν' ὀπτὸν ἀνθυλευμένον;

P. 55. A. Alexis:

κύαμος, θέρμος, λάχανον, γογγυλὶς,
ὄχρος, λάπυρος, φηγὸς, βολβὸς,
τίττιξ, ἰρίβινθος, ἀχράς, &c.

Anapæstic verses composed of three feet, like the last of these, are not infrequent in the present edition. This passage affords an instance of the corruption of the text by the casual insertion of a marginal gloss. Θερμὸς is *hot*, and θέρμος is *a lupine*. Λάχανον is therefore an explanation of θέρμος, and ought to be expunged; after which the verses will stand as follows:

Κύαμος, θέρμος, γογγυλὶς, ὄχρος,
λάπυρος, φηγὸς, βολβὸς, τίττιξ,
ἰρίβινθος, ἀχράς, &c.

P. 59. E. Epicrates:

καὶ τί ποτ' ἀρ' ὠρίσαντο, καὶ τίνος γίνους
εἶναι τὸ φῦτον· δήλωσον, εἴ κατα σθά τι.

To these two Iambic verses, the Professor has substituted three Anapæstics, *de sa façon*, which we recommend to the reader's attention as a curious specimen of emendatory criticism:

καὶ τί ποτ' ἄρ' ἰορίσαντο,
καὶ τίνος εἶναι γίνους τὸ φυτον;
δήλωσόν γ', εἴ τι κατοῖσθα.

P. 66. D. Antiphanes:

τῦν δεῖ περιόντα πίπερι καὶ καρπὸν βλίτου
ζῆτεῖν.

Περιὸν in the Attic dialect stands for περιιόν. One instance occurs in a passage of Phrynichus, which we shall cite hereafter. The Professor reads περιιόντα, and removes τῦν to the preceding verse.

P. 66. D. Ophelion:

Λίβυκόν τι πίπερι, θυμίαμα, καὶ βίβλιον
Πλάτωνος ἰμβρόντητον.

The Professor reads βίβλον, which we presume to be a spondee. We prefer the omission of καί. With the exception of γι, hardly any word is so frequently interpolated as καί.

P. 87. F. Posidippus:

ὧρα περαίνειν· ἰγχέλια, καὶ καράβους,
κογχας, ἰχίνους προσφάτους, μηκάνια.

The true reading is unquestionably ἰγχέλεια, καράβους: κρέα being understood.

P. 103. A. Damoxenus:

εἶτ' οὐθὲν εἰκῇ παρατίθεμι, μανθάνεις;

This verse exhibits a singular instance of interpolation. In all the editions, except that of Aldus, we read

εἶτ' οὐθὲν εἰκῇ παρατίθεμαι τοῖς συμπόταις.

In which, besides the impropriety of παρατίθεμαι, which signifies *I set before my self*, we have a dactyl immediately before an anapæst.

P. 105. A. Epicharmus:

ἐντὶ δ' ἀσταχοὶ, κολύβδαιναί τ', ἴχεισαι τὰ πόδια
μικρὰ, τὰς χεῖρας δὲ παχρὰς, κάραβος δὲ τῶνυμα.

The κολύβδαινα appears to have been of a species entirely different from the κάραβος, which was of the lobster kind. Instead of the words ἔχουσαι τὰ πόδια, the Venetian manuscript reads ἔχοντα ποδὶ ἴχει. By changing the division of the words, and introducing the proper contraction of καὶ ὅς, we find the true reading of this passage:

ἐστί δ' ἀστακοι, κολύβδαινά τι, χὡς τὼ πόδ' ἴχει
μικρὰ, &c.

P. 107. C. Alexis:

κριάδια, πεδάρια, βώγχη τινὰ, ὠτάρια,
ὕειον ἡπατίον ἐγκεκαλυμμένον.

The first of these distorted verses is left untouched by our Professor, but he endeavours to correct the second by reading ἐπικεκαλυμμένον. Both of them should be altered in the following manner:

κριάδια, καὶ πεδάρια, καὶ βυγχή τινά,
ὠτάρι' ὑός', ἡπάτιον ἐγκεκαλυμμένον.

The verse which immediately follows is also infested by a false quantity:

αἰσχύνεται γαρ, πελιδνὸν ὄν, τῷ χρωματι.

We believe that the syllable is of necessity made long before ΔΝ; for which reason we should prefer ᾐσχύνθη, which suits the sense equally well. We observe a small error in the beginning of this fragment, which Professor S. has passed over unnoticed. The common reading is

πρῶτον μὲν ὄσπρια παρὰ Νυρεῖ ἴσα ἰδὼν
γέροντι φυκίοισιν ἠμφισμένῳ, &c.

Correct:

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὄσπρια παρὰ Νυρεῖ ἴσα
ἰδὼν γέροντι φύκι' [or φῦκος] ἠμφισμένῳ, &c.

P. 107. E. Alexis:

αἰσχυνόμενον ἅπαρ καὶ καπρίσκους καλαφαγοῦ.

Correct:

αἰσχυνόμενον ἅπαρ καπρίσκου σκατοφάγου.

P. 117. F. Alexis:

ἆρ' ἦν μέλα ἰαῦθ' ἡ ῥάφανος, ἣν ἐβοᾶτ' εἶναι—
χρυσῆν γὰρ ἦν. ἴδωκα ἰαυῖας δύ' ὀβόλους.

Thus, Professor S. chuses to read, with a spondee in the last foot of the first verse; a practice which, from its frequency in the present edition, we conceive to be much more allowable at Strasburg, than on the Attic stage. Such of our readers as are scrupulous in admitting this license, may correct:

A. ἆρ' ἦν μέλα ἰαῦθ' ἡ ῥάφανος, ἣν ἐβοᾶτε. B. ναί·
χρυσῆν γὰρ ἦν. A. ἴδωκα, &c.

Ἡ ῥάφανος ἣν ἐβοᾶτε is *the cabbage which you praised.* In the same fragment the Professor begins an Iambic verse with ὡς πυρέτιος ἀνῆκεν. We could produce many instances to prove that Professor S. does not coincide in opinion with those critics who conceive a Dactyl or a Tritrach to be inadmissible before an Anapæst.

P. 119. F. Menander:

ἐπίπαν' ἐπὶ τὸ τάριχος (ἅλες), ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ

The Professor informs us that he has included the word ἅλας within brackets, because he conceives that it has intruded itself into its present seat from the conclusion of the preceding verse. We should prefer

- - - - - - - - - - ἐπίπαστα
ἐπὶ τὸ τάριχος ἅλας, ἐὰν οὕτω τύχῃ.

P. 124. C. Strattis:

- - - - - - - - - - εἶσιν γὰρ πιεῖν
οὐδ' ἂν εἷς δίξαιτο θέρμον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τοὐναντίον,
ψυχίμιστον ἐν τῷ ῥίπατι, χιόνι συμμεμιγμένον.

The Professor has converted these Trochaic verses into Iambic, with no other alteration than the permutation of the second and third words. The common reading of the third verse is μεμιγμένον. He scans the whole verse in the following manner:

- ∪ ∪ | ∪ - | - ∪ - | ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ - | ∪ -

P. 131. A. Amphis:

καὶ ταῦτα ποιῇς, ὥσπερ φράζω,
λαμπροῖς δείπνοις δεξεὸ' [read δεξόμεθ'] ὑμᾶς,
οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἰφικράτους
τοῖς ἐν Θρᾴκῃ. καί τοι φασὶν
βύβακας αὐτὰ γενέσθαι.

Instead of this word βύβακας, which Professor S. has inserted from the Venetian manuscript, some copies have βυβακάλους, and the editions read φιλοκάλως. We do not pretend to interpret it. In the following lines, Professor S. introduces ἀλουργῆ, without citing any authority for the use of it. The Venetian manuscript reads φάσιν, instead of φάσ', in these verses:

δειπνεῖν δ' ἄνδρας βουτυρομαγείρους φάσ',
αὐχμηροκόμας, μυριοπληθεῖς.

The true reading is probably βουτυροφάγους. In the same fragment we read:

πίνειαι, λεπάδες, μύες, ὄστρεα,
κτένες, ἔχινοι, &c.

Professor S. endeavours to restore the metre by reading μύες τ', ὄστρια: in which three words there are five faults. In the first place, the first syllable of μύες is short: secondly, an Attic comic poet would write μῦς, in the contracted form: thirdly, the conjunctive particle is improper in this place: fourthly, the last syllable of ὄστρια is long by position, as coming before κτένες: fifthly, the Attic writers generally, if not always, write ὄστρεια. All these errors may be avoided by reading μῦς, ὄστρεια.

P. 161. A. Antiphanes:

τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν δ' ἐνέτυχον ἄθλιοι τινὶς, &c.

This elegant Iambic is the production of Professor S. The common reading is δὲ τυχόν. We presume that the whole verse should appear as follows:

τῶν Πυθαγορειστῶν δ' ἔτυχον ἄθλιοί τινές, &c.

P. 165. B. Phrynichus:

ἔστιν δ' αὐτούς γε φυλάττεσθαι τῶν νῦν χαλεπώτατον ἔργον.
ἔχουσι γάρ τι κέντρον ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις μισάνθρωπον ἄνθος ὕβρεως·
εἶθ' ἡδυλογοῦσιν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ, κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέντες·
ἐπὶ τοῖσι βάλροις ὅτ' ἂν ὦσιν· ἐκεῖ τούτοις οἷς ἡδυλογοῦσι,
μεγάλας ἀμυχὰς καταμύξαντες, καὶ σωγκρύψαντες ἅπαντες
γελῶσι.

We give these tetrameter Anapæstics as they are written in the Venetian manuscript, without pretending to correct them. Professor S. has arranged them in another manner, with some interpolations. In his disposition, not one of them, except the first, can be scanned.

P. 166. C. Axionicus:

- - - - - - - ὁ Πυθόδηλος οὗτος [read οὑτοσί]
ἰσοβαλλίοις πρισίρχειτ' ἐπικαλούμενος,
ἀσωτότατος. - - -
μεθύουσά τ' ἐξ ὑπισθεν ἡ τοφωτάτη
ἀποτυμπανισχὰς κατὰ πόδας περιύεται.

In these corrupt lines, we conceive ἀσωτότατος to be a gloss on ἰσοβάλλίοις. Professor S. reads ἀσωτίστατος, which is certainly wrong. For ἀποτυμπανισχὰς he substitutes ἀπὸ τυμπάνου Ἰσχὰς, conceiving the *hiatus* to be as legitimate in Iambic as in Hexameter verses.

P. 224. D. Amphis:

λαβεῖν τ' ἀπόκρισιν ἂν ἐπερωτᾷ τις, ἢ
πρὸς ἰοὺς, &c.

As the first of these verses wants a syllable, Professor S. inserts ἢ after ἄν. We believe that a much neater correction has been offered.

λαβεῖν τ' ἀπόκρισιν ὧν ἂν ἐπερωῖα, &c.

P. 226. A. Alexis:

οὐ γίγνοιτ' κρείττων νομοθέτης ἰοῦ πλουσίου
Ἀριστονίκου· θέσθαι γὰρ νυνὶ νόμον.
τῶν ἰχθυοπωλῶν ὁστις ἂν πωλῶν γε ἰὸν
ἰχθὺν ὑπολιμήσας, ἀποδῶτ' ἰλάττονος
ἢ εἶπε λιμῆς, &c.

We presume that it is sufficiently evident that we may read τῶν λέγειν γὰρ νόμον. Professor S. reads λέγειν, which has a different meaning. θέσθαι νόμον means *to make a law by one's own authority:* θεῖναι νόμον is *to propose the making of a law in the legislative assembly.* It is in this latter sense only, that Aristonicus, who was probably some demagogue of that age, could be called a lawgiver. Perhaps, however, the whole passage is to be differently arranged:

οὐ γίγνοιτ' κρείττων νομοθέτης ἰοῦ πλουσίου
Ἀριστονίκου. * * * λέγειν γὰρ
νυνὶ νόμον· τῶν ἰχθυοπωλῶν ὁστις ἂν
ἰχθὺν ὑπολιμήσας, &c.

The γε in the third line is wanting in the manuscripts, and perhaps the other words which we have omitted were added to supply the deficiency which we have indicated by asterisks.

P. 243. D. The following Trochaics of Anaxandrides have been converted by Grotius, not without considerable omissions and alterations, into what that eminent man possibly conceived to be Iambics. Professor S. has faithfully retained the arrangement of his predecessor. We give them entire, because the Venetian manuscript exhibits them with some various readings of consequence. We do not pretend to understand all the local wit which is contained in them;

ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ χλευάζετ', οἶδ' ἀκριβῶς·
ἢν μέν γὰρ ᾖ τις εὐποτικός, ἱερὸν γάμοι καλεῖτε·
ἐὰν δὲ μικρὸν παιτελῶς ἀνθρώπιον, σταλαγμόν·
λαμπρός τις ξιλάλυθεν; ὀλολυγμὸς οὗτός ἐστι·
λιπαρὸς περιπατεῖ Δημοκλῆς; ζωμὸς κατωτέμαται·
χαίρει τις ἀσχμῶν· ῥυπᾷν; κονιορτὸς ἀνεπόφυσεν·
ὕπνωθεν ἀκολουθεῖ κόλαξ τῳ; λίμβος ἐπικέκληται·
τὰ πόλλ' ἀδεῖπνος περιπατεῖ; κιστρῖνός ἐστι τῶστις·
εἰς τοὺς καλοὺς δ' ἂν τις βλέπῃ, καινὸς θιατροπωλεῖς·
ὀφείλετ' ἄρτι πολιτῶν παίζων; Ἀτρεὺς ἐκλήθη·
ἐὰν δὲ κριὸν Φρίξος ἐὰν δὲ κωδάριον, Ἰάσων.

P. 247. C. Diphilus:

- - - - - - - - - οὐκ ἄν ποτε
Εὐριπίδης γυναῖκα σώσει'. οὐχ ὁρᾷς, &c.

In the common editions, *σώσει'* being written without the apostrophus, is mistaken by Professor S. for the future. He reads *σώσειεν*, without informing us in what manner the verse is to be divided into feet.

P. 258. C. Alexis:

ἴσως τριάκοντ' ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἐργαστηρίου.

Professor S. who does not suspect that the second syllable of *τριάκοντα* is long, proposes the introduction of *γε* after *ἴσως*.

P. 269. F. Metagenes.

ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς ὁ Κρᾶθις ὑμῖν καταφέρει
μάζας μεγίστας αὐτομάτας μεμαγμένας·
ὁ δ' ἕτερός γε, ὁ Σύβαρις καλούμενος
ποταμός, ὑθεῖ κῦμα ταστῶν καὶ κριῶν, &c.

The Professor observes that the two latter verses of this *ῥῆσις* are corrupted, but he does not attempt to emend them. Probably several of the words are a gloss, and the whole is to be read in one verse:

ὁ δ' ἕτερος ὑθεῖ κῦμα ταστῶν καὶ κριῶν.

In the same fragment we observe *ῥέει* at the end of a verse, and *τυθῖσιν ἑπταῖς* at the beginning of the next. Correct *ῥεῖ τυθίσιν ἑπταῖς* in one line.

In the cursory survey which we have taken of Professor Schweighæuser's emendations, we have seldom endeavoured to refute them, except when a preferable reading suggested itself to us. We have observed, with a considerable degree of surprise, a very large number of passages, which had been restored by the sagacity of different critics, but which, in this edition remain in the same state in which they were left by Casaubon.

We have to lament that Professor Schweighæuser has not devoted a larger share of his attention to that kind of criticism, from which alone a correct edition of Athenæus can be expected. Unquestionably the present publication is valuable in some respects: the epitome of the two first books, in particular, will be found considerably more entire than in the former editions. The collation of the Venetian manuscript has disappointed us. We expected that the editor would have derived much more advantage from it than he appears to have done Much depends on the fidelity of the collation, of which it is impossible for us to judge. We hope that a future editor will not consider the further inspection of it as unnecessary.

On Professor Schweighæuser's commentary, we have little to remark. By far the larger portion of it consists of extracts from Casaubon, whose animadversions, as we have before observed, ought to have been republished entire. Professor Schweighæuser has made no inconsiderable addition to the mass of information. The least commendable part of the work is the critical observations. The Professor's ignorance of metre continually exposes him to mistakes of the most ridiculous kind. We recollect, in one place, a dissertation on the quantity of the latter syllable of the particle οὐχί. The Professor, after mature deliberation, determines it to be long, but is half inclined to believe that the Attic poets occasionally transgress the rule, and make it short!

The Professor promises very copious and correct indexes. In that respect, at least, we hope that he will assume, as he may very easily, a decided superiority over the preceding editors.

ART. XV. *An Account of the late improvements in Galvanism, with a Series of Curious and Interesting Experiments, performed before the Commissioners of the French National Institute, and repeated lately in the Anatomical Theatres of London.* By John Aldini, Professor of Experimental Philosophy in the University of Bologna, &c. &c. 4to. pp. 222. London. Cuthell & Martin. 1803.

IN general, every new light thrown upon natural knowledge, at first dazzles and confuses: the understanding slowly becomes accustomed to its brightness; and it is only by degrees that the just appearances of the objects of discovery are perceived, and their true relations ascertained. The researches lately made in Galvanic electricity, have afforded to the scientific world many brilliant and interesting results; but the truths that have yet been

discovered by means of them, are few, and, for the most part, insulated. We have already witnessed several attempts to account for the phænomena, and to extend their theoretical applications to physiology and chemistry; but they have appeared to us, for the most part, founded on unsatisfactory suppositions: And the pages we are now examining, afford many new proofs of the vanity of systematizing upon an imperfect series of experiments.

The 'account of the late improvements in Galvanism,' is divided into three parts. The first part is entitled, 'On the Nature and general Properties of Galvanism:' the second relates to the influence of Galvanism on the vital powers: and the third to its medical application. No portion of the work is devoted to historical details concerning the origin and progress of the science; and little notice is taken of the most important discoveries that have been made by means of the electrical pile. M. Aldini, indeed, treats chiefly of his own experiments and opinions.

The celebrated Galvani, who is the author's uncle, in establishing his important discovery, had observed, that muscular contractions were produced, in certain cases, in the limbs of frogs that had been apparently deprived of life, without the aid of metals, merely by bringing certain parts of the animal in contact. His processes were repeated, under new circumstances, by Volta and by Humboldt*: And one of the most simple methods of exhibiting the fact, was found to be the application of the sciatic nerve to the muscles of the leg. M. Aldini has filled the first part of his work with the description of different conditions of this experiment. He has increased the effect, by connecting the nerve and muscle with the parts of warm-blooded animals; and by moistening them with saline solutions. And he infers from the phænomenon, that a peculiar ethereal fluid is continually generated in the animal œconomy; that it is connected with the functions of life; and that, as there is a *metallic pile*, composed of metals and fluids, so there is likewise an *animal pile*, consisting of living animal substances.

Whilst we admit, that the production of muscular contractions, by the combinations of animal organs, to all appearance dead, is a very curious circumstance, we cannot allow that it affords any proof of the presence of a *peculiar* electricity in living bodies, or that it tends, in the slightest degree, 'to explain the sensations and contractions in the animal machine.' It appears capable of being referred to the general law of the production of electricity, by the agency of conducting bodies on each other; and it may be explained, either by the ingenious hypo-

* See *Humboldt sur le Galvanisme, pag.* 30.

thesis of Volta concerning *electro-motion*, or by the theory of the dependence of Galvanic electricity on chemical changes.

M. Aldini, however, is so perfectly satisfied as to the existence of the ethereal animal fluid, that he employs several propositions in attempting to demonstrate its relations to common electricity, and the electricity produced by metals. His reasonings on this subject appear to us to be very inconclusive indeed; and we are afraid that he has been mistaken in the results of some of his experiments: As, for instance, when he says, page 21, 'that an electrified Leyden phial, introduced under a jar filled with common air in a pneumatic apparatus, occasions a diminution of the elastic fluid;' and when he asserts, page 41, 'that opium, cinchona, and other stimulants of a similar kind, which exercise a powerful action on the animal machine, contribute also to excite the action of the pile.'

M. Aldini begins the second part of his work in the following manner:

'To conduct an energetic fluid to the general seat of all impressions; to distribute its influence to the different parts of the nervous and muscular systems; to continue, revive, and, if I may be allowed the expression, to command the vital powers; such are the objects of my researches, and such the advantages which I purpose to derive from the action of Galvanism.

The discovery of the Galvanic pile by the celebrated Volta, has served as a guide to enable me to obtain the most interesting results; and to these I have been conducted by numerous researches and a long series of experiments. I have examined the whole range of nature; and the grand family of animals has afforded me the means of making observations, highly interesting to physiology, on the whole œconomy of vital powers. My experiments on this subject I shall divide into two sections.' p. 53.

We have looked in vain through the two sections for the important discoveries which the author promises. The experiments detailed in them relate wholly to the contractions produced in the muscles of dead warm-blooded animals, by the application of the electricity of the pile; and the method of operating is the common one, *i. e.* by making the communication between the nervous and muscular systems. M. Aldini has often performed his processes on the dead human subject; but the accounts that he gives of his results, are rather disgusting than instructive. He entertains great hopes that Galvanism may be usefully applied in cases of apparent death from suffocation. This part of the subject is really worthy of the attention of enlightened physiologists; and, as yet, no well-conducted trials have been made in relation to it.

In considering the general medical applications of accumulated Galvanic electricity, M. Aldini displays much more modesty and judgment than in the other parts of his work. He observes—

'I am fully convinced that much still remains to be done, in order to discover the best methods of employing this new agent; and that the facts respecting it, though numerous, have not been reduced to principles sufficiently certain and satisfactory. There are, nevertheless, some results and observations exceedingly curious, which, if confirmed by new experiments and researches, may enable us to obtain convincing proofs of its utility. New facts, however surprising, are not to be despised merely on account of their being different from any before observed.' p. 97. 98.

The author remarks, that the pile of Volta has great advantages over the common electrical machine, as to the permanency and uniformity of its action; and he acquaints us, that a very ingenious apparatus, for the application of Galvanism, has been invented by Mr Cuthbertson.

M. Aldini has made some experiments on the administration of Galvanism to the eyes of persons affected with blindness, but without much success. He asserts, that he has employed it with advantage in some cases of melancholy madness; and he quotes the experiments of the German professors, which are said to have produced extraordinary effects in restoring the sense of hearing.

We are afraid that many of the statements of cures are premature, and that the results require confirmation. It has been proved, we think, by various experiments, and particularly those of Dr. Woolaston and Van Marum, that the electricity of the pile differs from the electricity of the electrical machine, chiefly in being of a lower degree of intensity; hence it passes with less facility through imperfect conductors, such as the animal organs; and, consequently, it is difficult to imagine that it can be possessed of greater powers in modifying the vital functions. We refrain, however, from deciding on this point; and we wish that new trials may be made. For the establishment of the efficacy of a new medical agent, an immense accumulation of evidence is required; and accounts of experiments made by enlightened practitioners, would, in some measure, tend to prevent inexperienced persons from employing it as an instrument of quackery.

The anonymous editor of M. Aldini's work has added to it a translation of two Latin dissertations on Galvanism, published by the author at Bologna, one in 1793 and the other in 1794, and an appendix, containing an account of some experiments made by M. Aldini on a malefactor executed at Newgate; a detail of experiments of a similar kind made at Bologna; and some observations, which show that Galvanic electricity is capable of pass-

ing, with the utmost rapidity, through an extensive chain of conducting bodies.

We shall not offer any remarks upon these additional papers. We have perused them without much interest. They add considerably to the size of the volume, without furnishing any new information. M. Aldini's earlier memoirs contain very little which applies to the present state of the science; and his experiments upon the human body are of the same kind as those detailed in the second part of his work.

ART. XVI. *Chronicle of Scotish Poetry, from the 13th Century to the Union of the Crowns, with a Glossary.* By J. Sibbald. 4 vol. 8vo. Edinburgh and London. 1802.

THE Chronicle of Scotish Poetry does not contain much which will be new to those who are possessed of the publications made from the Bannatyne MS. by Ramsay and Lord Hailes, together with the ancient Scotish poetry of Pinkerton. A full copy of the works of Sir David Lindsay (excepting only the Four Monarchies), is given from the editions of Charteris and Dr. Macheus. Considering the high reputation which the worthy knight long maintained among the Scotish peasantry, so high as to be chosen in preference to the Bible, as the proverbial standard of truth, and even as the soother of their last moments,* we cannot help thinking an accurate edition of his poems an acceptable present to the public. From his play, the most curious of all his works, Mr. Sibbald has only given the scenes contained in the edition 1602, omitting the introduction, interludes, and concluding scenes which occur in the Bannatyne MS. This omission we greatly disapprove of, as the scenes omitted contain many curious historical documents, as well as a strange picture of manners. It is true, they are interlarded with gross indelicacies, yet not with worse than are to be found in the writings of Dunbar, and many other poems in the Chronicle, nay even in the body of the play itself. Without adopting the systematic defence of indecency set up by one learned editor, we declare ourselves under no apprehension of the public morals suffering from the naked coarseness of an author, who can only be understood by antiquaries. Their ears are, we have been told, like those of confessors;

* 'There's not such a word in Davie Lindsay,' is still a proverbial expression of disbelief. 'Hout awa' wi' your daft nonsense,' said an expiring man to his pious neighbour, who was reading for his edification a chapter of the Bible; 'bring me Davie Lindsay.'

and if we could banish from the fashionable world the amatory effusions of Mr. Thomas Little, we should be little anxious about the 'lickerous lays' of father Chaucer, Dunbar, or Lindsay.

Besides the poems of Lindsay, we recognize those of Alexander Hume, author of the Day Estival, which have considerable merit, particularly that on the defeat of the Spanish Armada, although in many places bordering on burlesque. All Dunbar's poetry is printed from the Bannatyne MS. with great apparent accuracy. Two or three pieces, hitherto unpublished, have been extracted from the same invaluable collection, which, notwithstanding, does, in our opinion, still contain much yet unprinted matter, which Mr. Sibbald might have advantageously included in his collection, though at the expense of leaving out or shortening his quotations from Barbour, Blind Harry, and Gawain Douglas, whose works are in every one's hands. Even such extravagant pieces as 'Lichtoun's Dreme,' 'Rowll's Cursing,' and 'Cowkelbie's Sow,' are worthy of being preserved, for the language and manners, though Heaven knows, the matter is sufficiently contemptible. While we notice these omissions, we may also remark, that the tale, 'How a Merchant did his Wyfe betray,' which, upon Mr. Ritson's authority, Mr. Sibbald has inserted in his Chronicle, seems to have no pretensions to be called a Scotish composition. Neither, in Mr. Ritson's copy published from a MS. in the public library at Cambridge, nor from one preserved in the Auchinleck MS. at Edinburgh, can we perceive grounds for this supposition; and, for the northern tone which it has acquired in the Chronicle, it is indebted to the avowed alterations of spelling adopted by Mr. Sibbald.

In the third volume of the Chronicle, we find a collection of 'Gude and Godly Ballates,' intended by the composers to supersede 'bawdrie and unclean songs.' This device for edifying the young and gay, by applying sacred words to popular airs, was a favourite experiment of the Reformers. The psalms of Clement Marot were sung by the Huguenots to the air of '*Reveillez vous belle endormie;*' and Sternhold undertook his version, that the maids of honour and courtiers might sing them instead of sonnets. 'But they did not;' adds Anthony Wood, with great *naïveté*, 'save but a few.' Wedderburn, the religious poet of Scotland, carried his inroads into this province of the realm of darkness still farther. He not only adopted the tunes, but, as if the unbecoming association was not sufficiently burlesque, he even parodied the words of the favourite profane airs of their time. Mr. Sibbald has published several hymns founded on the popular songs of 'Down, belly, downe,' 'The hunt's up,' 'I'll never leave thee,' 'Wha's that at my chamber door,' 'John come

kiss me now,' &c. We differ from the learned editor when he says that the hymn beginning, 'The wind blaws cald,' vol. iii. p. 447, is 'doubtless to the tune of "Up in the morning early." On the contrary, we think the measure and inflexion goes much more readily to the tune of 'Drive the cold winter away,' which is much more ancient than is generally believed.

The works of Dunbar, Sir David Lindsay, and other authors, appear to us to have suffered in consequence of the rigid chronological arrangement adopted by Mr. Sibbald, in consequence of which they are intermingled with other poems according to their supposed dates; and the reader is consequently deprived of the satisfaction arising from observing the gradual progress of each author in composition.

The notes by which these poems are accompanied are not numerous, nor do they display extensive reading beyond the line of national antiquities; but they are plain, sensible, and generally very accurate. Where elegance has not been attempted, no censure is due, because it has not been attained. The notes of Lord Hailes have been, with a studious veneration, retained by Mr. Sibbald, even where he states a contrary opinion. Both commentators appear to us to have fallen into a gross error in attempting to identify John the Reif (or robber) with the famous Johnie Armstrong. John the Reif is mentioned as a hero of popular romance by Gawain Douglas in the Palice of Honour, written in 1501, and Armstrong was not executed till 1529. Although Mr. Sibbald remarks the former circumstance, he does not contrast it with the latter.

Mr. Sibbald differs from Lord Hailes respecting the date of a poem called a General Satire, in this piece, vol. iii. p 224. The *King and Queen* are both mentioned; whence Lord Hailes has fixed its date as subsequent to 1538, when James V. was married. Mr. Sibbald supposes the reference to be to James IV. and his Queen, and the ballad, of course, to be prior in date to 1513; because he conceives Ingles, to whom the poem is attributed in the Maitland MS., to have been Sir James Inglis, Abbot of Cuross, celebrated by Sir David Lindsay, and murdered by the Baron of Tullieallan in 1531, seven years before the date affixed by Lord Hailes. But the miserable state of the country which the satire describes, the allusion to the College of Justice instituted in 1532, and other circumstances of internal evidence, incline us to Lord Hailes's opinion; in which case, the author may have been John Inglis, called by Pitscottie, Marshal. He was an actor by profession, and performed in the plays at the marriage of James IV. (Leland's collection, vol. iv. 258.) When a young man, he witnessed the famous apparition of St. Andrew at Linlithgow. See more particulars of him in Chalmers' Apology, p. 617.

Mr. Sibbald is widely mistaken in a proposed correction of the following passage in Hardinge's Itinerary:

'Then send a host of footemen in
At Lammas next through all Lawderdale,
And Lammermore wode and mossis ouer rin,
And eke therewith the Stowe of Weddale.'

The last place, Mr. Sibbald apprehends to be an error of the transcriber, for 'Tweddale,' vol. i p. last. But it is, in truth, the village of Stowe upon Gala-Water, situated in what was then called Weddale.* The Black Priest of Waddell is one of the three persons entitled to the benefit of the Lauch of Clan Macduff, as mentioned by Winton, B. vi. ch. xix.

Mr. Sibbald, in a note in vol. i. p. 358, has printed, from Millar and Chapman's Miscellany 1505, an old *jeu d'esprit*, beginning,

'My Gudame was a gay wif, but scho wes right geud;'

—which he seems inclined to ascribe to Kennedy. It appears to us, in style and composition, to be very nearly allied to the Fairy tale in the Bannatyne MS. beginning, 'In Tiberius' tyme the trew Imperatour;' and also, to another poem of the same whimsical nature, called 'Ane Interlude of the laying of a Gaist.' This last appears to have been the composition of James Wedderburn, the eldest of three brothers of that name, who, about the year 1540, composed certain interludes and plays against the Roman Catholic superstitions, which were acted at Dundee; and, in particular, according to Calderwood, he 'counterfeeted also the conjuring of a ghaist.' We have no hesitation, from internal evidence, to ascribe the other two poems to the same author.

The poems in the Chronicle are, in general, accurately printed from the original manuscripts. Instances of the contrary may, however, be pointed out; as, in the names of the tunes quoted. Vol. i. p. 379, he gives us, '*Trevass*,' for '*Trenass*;'—'*Lemman, dawis it nocht day*,' for '*Joly Leman, dawis it nocht day*;—'*Ourbrans*,' for *Orliance*.' Other instances of minute error might no doubt be pointed out; but the general correctness of the work does credit to the diligence and attention of the editor.

The glossary, by far the most valuable part of the work, occu-

* The etymology seems to be from *we*, *sanctus* and *dale*, or the valley through which a river flows. But in Nennius, it is latinized *vallis doloris*, from *wae*, sorrow. In the church of St. Mary, at Stowe, is said to have been preserved a piece of the true cross, brought thither by king Arthur, which probably was supposed to sanctify the whole dale.—3d Gale. p. 114.

pies the fourth volume, contains no less than six thousand words, and may be considered as a very correct dictionary of the Scotish language previous to 1600. There is prefixed, a short essay on the origin of the terms *Picti*, *Caledonii*, and *Scoti*. Mr. Sibbald has abridged, very neatly, the arguments for what has been called the Gothic System of Scotish antiquities. There is added, an hypothesis concerning the name of Edinburgh; and some ingenious remarks upon the rythm of Saxon and Scotish poetry, with which we were much pleased.

In the glossary itself, Mr. Sibbald displays a great advantage over all late glossarists, from his intimate and habitual acquaintance with the Scotish dialect as spoken at present. It is impossible to enumerate the absurd etymologies which have been offered to the public, merely from ignorance in this essential point. We do not mean to say, that the common and vulgar interpretation of a Scotish word is uniformly to be received as its ancient meaning; but the former, although enlarged, restricted, or variously modified, by the course of time, seldom fails to guide us to the latter. To this important requisite, the glossary adds those of respectable learning and indefatigable inquiry, which appear particularly from constant reference to the dialects of the North. Mr. Sibbald, a steady adherent, as has been said, to the system of Pinkerton, which derives the Picts from a Gothic root, and supposes them to have transmitted their language to the Lowlands of Scotland, has the following striking remark: 'The Scotish dialect has a much greater affinity with the Anglo-Saxon, and with the Teutonic or Belgic, than with any of the Scandinavian dialects; and with respect to the two first, it appears, that a cognate word is more readily discovered in the Teutonic, dictionary of Kilian, than in the Anglo Saxon of Leye.' The latter part of this observation, founded, doubtless, on Mr. Sibbald's experience, will prove a stubborn argument against those who derive the Lowland Scotish dialect from their neighbours of England. Yet, in some instances, Mr. Sibbald seems to us to have carried his reluctance to admit an Anglo-Saxon root, a little too far. For example, he derives *sett*, a constitution, from *saett*, Swedish, *modus vel ratio*, which we would rather deduce from the Anglo-Saxon *seht*, *pactum*, *fœdus*. In like manner, the editor of the Chronicle is sometimes partial to a Gothic descent. Thus, he inclines to derive *Ketheryns*, Highland banditti, from the Teutonic *Ketter*, *insectator;* whereas, it is the original Gaelic for a troop of soldiers, and was long and generally used under the abbreviated form of Kern, to signify Irish or Highland thieves. *See Dorick's Picture of Ireland*, &c.—The household spirit, called Brounie, has no affinity, as the glossary affirms, with the Swedish

Bry, turbare vel vexare, far less with the Saxon *Brynia*, Ensis; which by the way, rather signifies *Galea*. Whatever the primitive may be, the Brounie, from his occupation and habits, may be identified with the Portuni of Gervase of Tilbury. *Otia Imperialia*, p. 960.—*Benshie*, a kind of spirit, is derived from *Benz* Teutonic, Diabolus, and ultimately from *Bann*, excommunicatus; whereas this being, who is still reverenced as the tutelar dæmon of ancient Irish families, is of pure Celtic origin, and owes her title to two Gaelic words, *Ben* and *sighean*, signifying the head or chief of the faeries. *Farifolk*, or *faery folk*, is derived in the glossary from Teut. *bieren*, feriari vel festos dies agere. The French *faerie* is a much more obvious root; which may, perhaps, be ultimately traced to the *peri* of the Persians, or *feri* of the Saracens. With the same anxiety to find a Teutonic cognate, *fode* is derived from Swed. *fogde*, Teut. *voght*, *voghde*, præfectus. But this disagrees with the epithet of *frely fode*, which occurs so frequently in metrical romance, and which proves that the word is a participle or adjective. It is used in many cases where Sibbald's derivation is inapplicable; as, in the romance of Ywain and Gawain, it is introduced as a contumelious expression:

'Sertainly so fals a *fode*
Was never cumen of kingis blode.'

By Winton, and many other rhymers, it is applied to a woman:

'Syne Saxon and the Scotis blude
Togyder is in you freely fude.' *(Queen Maud.)*

In the ancient romance of Hornchilde, a knight calls his son (a youth, not a commander),

'My childe my oune fode.'

In Sir Tristem, we have it thus spelt:

'Nas never non fairer fedde
Than Maiden Blanchflowe.'

We believe it signifies nothing more than 'fed,' 'or nurtured;' Frely fode, will thus mean, 'well nurtured.'—*Mulde-mete*, the last meat before death, is explained from *multen*, Swedish, rotten; whereas, it is simply mold meat, or food previous to being laid in mold.—A few other instances might be pointed out, in which Mr. Sibbald's attachment to a Gothic, and especially a German derivation, has led him to neglect nearer cognates in the Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and French; but enow of derivations will remain undisputed, to afford no small matter of triumph to the adherents of Pinkerton.

As a specimen of Mr. Sibbald's style, of his zeal for the Gothic system, and of the candour with which he states arguments

contrary to his own opinion, we shall transcribe his observations on the letters *quh*, used in ancient Scotish for *wh*, and which is known to be one of the few peculiarities which distinguish the manuscripts of our country from the old English, and, of course, favour the system of those who derive our dialect from a different modification of the Teutonic supposed to have been spoken by the Picts.

'The use of *quh*, instead of *wh* or *hw*, is a curious circumstance in Scotish orthography, and seems to be borrowed immediately, or at first hand, from the Gothic, as written by Ulphilas in the fourth century. In his Gothic Gospels, commonly called the Silver Book, we find about thirty words beginning with a character (*o*, with a point in the centre), the power of which has never been exactly ascertained. Junius, in his glossary to these Gospels, assigned to it the power and place of *qu*. Stiernheim and others have considered it as equivalent to the German, Scandinavian, and Anglo-Saxon *hw*. And, lastly, the learned Ihre, in his Suio-Gothic Glossary, conjectures, that this character did not agree in sound with either of these; but 'sonum inter *hu* et *qu* medium habuisse videtur.' Unluckily, he pursues the subject no farther; otherwise, he could scarcely have failed to suggest the Scotish *quh*—particularly as a great proportion of these thirty Gothic words can be translated into Scotish by no other words but such as begin with these three letters, ex. gr. Goth. *qua* or *hwa*, Scot. *quha*, Goth. *quis* or *hwis*, Scot. *quhais*, Goth. *quazuh* or *hwazuh*, Scot. *quhaso*, *quhasoever*. Goth. *quhathro* or *hwhathro* (unde), Scot. *quharfrae* or *quhair-thrae*, Goth. *quan* or *hwan*, Scot. *quhan*, Goth. *quar* or *hwar*, Scot. *quhar* or *quhair*, Goth. *qudar*, *quathar*, Scot. *quheder*, *quhether*, Goth. *queila* or *hweila*, Scot. *quhil* or *quhyle*, Goth. *quileiks* or *hwileiks*, Scot. *quhilk*, Goth. *quhait* or *hwait*, Scot. *quheat*, Goth. *queit* or *hweit*, Scot. *quhite*. When these Gothic words, therefore, come to be again mentioned, it will be no great innovation upon the authority of Ihre, to adopt some middle sound between the *qu* and *hw*. But, notwithstanding of its striking coincidence with the Scotish *quh*, to avoid any charge of hypothetical partiality, a different element or combination of letters shall be here assumed, viz. *gw*; a sound which appears to furnish an apology for Ulphilas having coined a letter unknown in the Greek and Roman alphabets; a sound, too, which occurs not unfrequently in the ancient language of Germany, ex. gr. *gwaire*, verus; *gwallichi*, potentia, gloria (this word serves in some degree to direct us to the sound, it being also written *cwolichi*); *gwallichon*, glorificare; *gwerf*, symbolum, conjectio; *gwiurtero*, ignitorum. When this harsh sound gave way everywhere to the *hw*, (and, at least in one instance, to *qu*), the character which Ulphilas had invented to express it, fell of course to be laid aside. In Scotland alone, the sound was preserved, and appears to this day under the form of *Quh*.'—GLOSSARY, *Qu*.

Mr. Sibbald adds the conjecture of a learned friend, who seems inclined to think that the Gothic character under consideration 'appears to be the ancient Eolic digamma aspirated in pronunciation,' and probably thinking that derivation of a pure Gothic letter still too modern, questions whether it may not be derived from the Hebrew *ain*, 'the pronunciation of which is a matter of great dispute.' If Mr. Sibbald had consulted Hickes, with whose labours he seems to have been little acquainted, he would have had the satisfaction of seeing his first conjecture bucklered by that mighty authority. He says expressly of this Mæso Gothic letter, 'sonat ut *hw* Anglo-Saxonum, *wh* Anglorum, vel *quh* Scotorum, in *quhite, quhether, quhat quhuy, quhilk*;' and, in the rules for applying the letters, Hickes observes, that Ulphilas was not the inventor, but the collector and applier of this sixteenth letter of the Gothic alphabet, which has the power of an aspirated *o*, as *ho* or *hoo*. We cannot help thinking, that this aspirated, or rather guttural sound of *quh* Scot. is equivalent to the *gu* of the old English and modern Spanish; as, *guild*, in the former, is indifferently spelt *whelde*; and *aguilar*, in the latter, is pronounced *awhuilar*. The difference in form betwixt the written *g* and *q*, is very trifling, although the Scots do seem to have been singular in adopting the latter shape. Whether this can, in the penury of early manuscripts, be traced to such antiquity as to authorise the conclusion, that it was derived from a tribe of Goths unconnected with the Saxons, we cannot stop to inquire. The controversy has been maintained with great warmth; we leave it, with the prudent resolution of Dame Quickly—'We will not burn our fingers, and need not, indeed la!'

In the general explanations of Mr. Sibbald, a very few inaccuracies occur. *Bote* is explained, 'a little armory or closet.' This is not accurate—it means a deep window or recess formed in the wall. Three different explanations are given of the word *boun*: *bowdin, bodin, bowyn, boun*, furnished, provided, &c.: *boun*, going, moving; and *bounit*, tended, went. The first of these only is correct. *Boun* means, equipped for war or travel; and *boun* or *bebounit* to a place, means to be prepared to go thither. It is retained in the maritime phrase 'whither bound,' which does not precisely mean, whither are you sailing, but for what port have you been fitted out. Obliquely, no doubt, the phrase may imply the immediate progressive motion; but this is not its primitive or proper sense. *Cleugh* is not accurately defined, 'opposite rugged banks:' it means the hollow betwixt such banks; and implies, that such hollow is very narrow. *Swengeour* does not signify, unless by implication, 'a stout wencher, or one who

roams about after the girls;' far less is it derived from *Teut. swente*, virgo, from *swentzen*, vagare; from Danish, *swangrer*, gignere; from Old English, *swinker*, labourer; or finally, from Saxon, *swancan*, labourer. It means only a strong man, or, as the vulgar still say, a *swingeing* fellow, from Mæso Goth. *swintheius*, potentia, or *swinths*, validus, robustus, as in Ulphilas *gatayida swinthein*, fecit potentiam. *Buttock mail* is too generally explained 'some kind of rent paid to the church,' since it means, the sum paid to ransom a fornicator from doing penance on the stool of repentance. If *lycame* or *likam* signifies exclusively 'a human body while in life,' (which we greatly doubt), it differs strangely from its cognate *leichnam*, Germ. which means a corpse. *Eschelle* is explained, generally, as 'a particular manner in which the divisions of an army or regiments were disposed.' The word is retained in tactics, and means the oblique movement of a number of divisions. Mr. Sibbald, however, knew more about it than the French General of cavalry, who, when desired to march in *eschellon*, answered—'Sacre! c'est bien pour l'enfanterie, mais comment faire monter mes chevaux par une eschelle!' *Bumbard* certainly signifies a cannon, as explained by Mr. Sibbald—but he should have added, that it occasionally signifies a black leather tankard, otherwise called a black jack. Trinculo compares a black cloud to a huge bumbard about to spill its liquor. Indeed, the artillery of the field and table often exchanged epithets, and furnished analogies, perhaps because the leather cannon, at one time in use, resembled the tankard.—In Monsieur Thomas, when Lancelot brags of having broken the butler's head, Sebastian answers,

> 'No, base palliard,
> I do remember yet that onslaught; thou wast beaten
> And fledst before the butler, a *black jack*
> *Playing upon thee furiously;* I saw it;
> I saw thee scattered, rogue.'——

Some inconsistencies have also crept into this valuable glossary. Thus, 'knapsha' is, in the Chronicle, confounded with 'knapsack; but, in the glossary, is rightly explained as a distinct word, signifying a steel cap or morion. Some words of difficult interpretation are altogether omitted, as, *yrle*, a dwarf; *wobat*, a hairy caterpillar; *curle-doddy*, a sort of clover; *cum paucis aliis.* A pretty large class of omissions might be made up from the 'Adventure of Sir Gawayne;' but the editor probably thought with us, that in such alliterative poems, many words are used *rythmi gratia*, in a very constrained and oblique sense, and some are probably forged 'for the nonce.' Upon some future occasion, we may give the public our sentiments on this head.

In one instance, at least, Mr. Sibbald appears to have been a little misled by national partiality. *Thir*, which is only a contraction of the cockney phrase, *these here*, is said to 'have no corresponding English word; as, *thir* shillings (which I hold concealed in my hand) are better than these upon the table.' The meaning would be perfectly expressed in English, by saying, '*These* shillings are better than *those*.'

Far-strained etymologies of the names of persons and places, afford most amusement to the scorners, and are heedfully to be avoided in this branch of literature. Mr Sibbald, whose judgment seems greatly to have counterbalanced his imagination, affords few openings for mirth, at the expense of his derivations. Nevertheless, as if it were destined that no glossarist, how sober-minded soever, should absolutely resist the temptation which most easily besets them, the editor of the Scotish Chronicle has succumbed in one remarkable instance.

'*Sneddon, Sneddon Castle, Snowdon*, an old name of Stirling Castle, and so called by the people in its neighbourhood at this day; as Edinburgh is called *Old Reikie*. William of Worcester, an ancient English historian (about 1440), mentions Striveling, *alias* Snowden-West-Castle; and, in later times, Sir David Lindsay gives it the same appellation (see vol. ii. p. 95.) The name of Sneddon, or Sneddoun, was probably assumed from the appearance of the rock on which the castle is situated, viz. a *snedden* or *snodden* rock. See *Sned*, to hew down, or lop off. Sax. *Snidan*, secare, resecare, dolare. Otfrid. *Snide*, abscindere, which corresponds exactly with the appearance of the precipice. In the Saxon Chronicle, under the years 922 and 924, the city of Nottingham is called *Snottingham*, originally perhaps *Snodingham*, which, according to the description of the place, seems to be derived from the same kind of origin. This leads to a new etymology of Edinburgh. If Stirling was *Snoden*, or *Snedin-West-Castle*, we may safely presume there was also an *East*-Snedin-Castle, *i. e.* a castle of similar appearance to the eastward of Stirling. And since Nottingham was formerly Snottingham, it is not impossible that Edinburgh in early times, was *Snedinberg*. After undergoing, like Snottingham, the elision of *S*, it might for some time be Nedinbergh; and, at this period, the Gaelic name Dun-Aidan may have been formed. In the process of time, Nedenburgh (*gallicè* Dun-Aidan, or Dun-Neden) may have given way to Edinburgh, the initial *N* being omitted, as in the word *adder*, or serpent. Sax. *nedder*. Evis, from *nieren*, renes.' Glossary, *voce* SNEDDON.

This is the true language of fanciful etymology. It is, in the first place, assumed, that Snadoun must mean the *Snodden*, or *Snedded-Down* Castle: 2dly, Because one English historian casually describes Stirling by its situation, as Snadoun-*West*: there must have been a Snadoun-*East*, which is mentioned by no histo-

rian whatever: 3dly, The supposed Snadoun-East must be Edinburgh, originally called Snedinburgh, then Neddenburgh, and lastly Edinburgh: of all which unvouched derivations, it is held sufficient evidence, that Snottingham has been changed into Nottingham, a change much for the better. We are inclined to dispute the very ground work of this derivation, which reminds us of the noted etymology of King Pepin. The word is almost uniformly spelled *Snadoun* or *Snowdon*, not *Sneddon*; neither is the word *burgh* or *castle* added to it; so that, according to Mr Sibbald's etymology, the name would consist of an adjective, without a substantive. To make out his argument, Stirling should have been called Snodden-ton, Snodden-don, or Snodden-berg, as well as Edinburgh, to which he ascribes the same derivation. It has generally been supposed, that Snadoun was a borrowed name from romance given to Stirling during the solemnization of the rites of chivalry, when the characters assumed by the Kings of Scotland and their courtiers, were those of the Knights of the Round Table. Snowden, a famous name in Wales, was thus, with its fabulous Arthur, transferred to Scotland. A passage in Lindsay, which, we believe, is traditionary in the town of Stirling, seems to favour this derivation:

> 'Adew, fair Snadoun! with thy towries hie,
> Thy chapell royal, park, and tabill round.'

The resemblance of the neighbouring mountains to the description of Snowden, by Trevisa, may have favoured the imposition of this name.

> 'There ben hylles in Snowdonye,
> That ben wonderly hye,
> With heyghte as grete awaye,
> As a man may go a day;
> And hete Eriri in Walshe,
> Snowy hylles in Englysche.'

Arthur's Seat, near Edinburgh, probably received its name from some similar circumstance.

If, however, a more ancient etymology be prefixed, Snadoun may mean simply *Snow-toun*; for, in winter, the lofty mountains of Perthshire, in the vicinity, may entitle it to that appellation.

But if we cannot agree to Snadoun being rendered Snodden, far less will we allow that Edinburgh was ever called Snoddenburgh. Manifold have been the etymologies proposed to explain the name of our Good Town. Edinburgh has been derived from Edwin, a Saxon monarch, who lived some hundred years after it was known by its present appellation; from Aidan, a Scotish monarch, who, for aught we know, never lived at all; from Edin,

Gaelic, the face of a hill; and from Aidan, British, signifying a wing; whence Camden labours to identify it with the Castrum Alatum. Almost any one of these definitions appears to us more plausible than that of Mr. Sibbald. Indeed if we give credit to the British poet Aneurin, the bard of the splendid song, who flourished in the sixth century, Edinburgh was then inhabited by the Celts; and consequently its name is not to be derived from *Saxon*, or any other Saxon word. Mynnyzawg, Prince of Edinburgh, commanded the confederate armies of the British chiefs dwelling betwixt the Friths of Forth and Clyde and the Roman wall, and fought the bloody battle of Cattraeth (perhaps Ettrick), in which he sustained a bloody defeat from the Saxons of Deiria, or Northumberland. Three hundred and sixty-three warriors, all of them *Eudorchawg*, or wearers of the golden chain, marched with Mynnyzawg to this fatal battle: three only survived the conflict; the bard Aneurin was one of those three; and his lamentation for the fate of his comrades is still extant. If we look for the etymology of Edinburgh in the British language, which, consistently with this anecdote, we certainly ought, we incline to prefer that which derives the name from Welch, *Edin*, the steep face of a rock; a compound which occurs in Edinbelly, Edinmore, and other local appellations. When the Saxons acquired possession of the fortress, Dun Edin of course became Edinburgh; the former name being still retained by the Highlanders.

The separate appellations of Myned-Agned, or Caer-Agned, rendered into English, Maiden Castle, and into Latin, Castrum Puellarum (potius Puellæ), was probably originally conferred, from an idea that it was an impregnable or virgin fortress. This led to the fable of the Pictish Princesses being lodged there. We are surprised it has occurred to no etymologist, that Agned might in time be softened into Aned, and then inverted into Edan.

If the favourers of Mr. Sibbald's opinion deny the authority of the Welch bard, the testimony of Saxon historians is not more favourable. The earliest mention of Edinburgh has been detected by the industry of Mr David Macpherson, in the *Annales Ultonienses*, a MS. in the British Museum, where this passage occurs, under A. D 637, 'Bellum Gline Muresan et Obsessio Edin.' In 960, Eden-town is mentioned in an old MS. quoted by Camden, as being evacuated by the Saxons, and abandoned to Indulf, King of Scots. The place is called Edenesburg, in a charter of Alexander I Edwynesburg, in one of David I.; Edenburc and Edinburgh, in the Chronicle of Melrose; Edwinesburch, by Simon of Durham; Edwynesburgh, in the chronicle of Lanercost; Edensburgh, by Hemingford; Edenburch, in the Polycronicon of Higden; Ednysborg and Edenesburgh, by

Knighton; Edynburch, Edynbrowch, Maydyn Castle, and the Sorrowful Hill, by the prior of Lochleven;* Dun-Edin, by the Highlanders; and by the Welch, Mayned-Agned. Not one of these various readings give the least countenance to Mr. Sibbald's conjecture; so that the *Sn*, necessary to his hypothesis must have been cashiered before 687, which is hardly to be admitted.

In the introduction to the Glossary, Mr. Sibbald insists, that Edinburgh, or Sneddinburgh, as he will have it, is the same with Abernethy; thus not only confusing two very opposite sounds, but altogether forgetting that Aber is a Gaelic word signifying the *mouth*, and cannot consistently be combined with his Saxon Sneddan, or Swodden. This reminds us of an ingenious gentleman, who derived the etymology of Stobo from a Latin and French word, *Sto beau*, I stand fair. But enough of the only conjecture in this valuable lexicon, which can be termed overstrained and whimsical.

Our limits do not permit us to bestow any further criticism upon Mr. Sibbald's Glossary, which we consider as a very important national acquisition. The Chronicle itself contains little that may not be found in the libraries of most antiquaries; but all such libraries will, in future, be imperfect without this Glossary. The few errors which occur, are such as the most sedulous attention could hardly have avoided; and while it is our duty to remark them, we cannot but regret, that these points of discussion are now indifferent to the author.†

'——— To him, what matters it,
What Hengist utter'd, or how Horsa writ!'

We are no great admirers of fashionable printing, hot-press work, or cream-coloured paper, yet we could have wished that this useful book had been executed in something of a better style. We do not say, that it is inaccurately printed; and certainly, as was recommended by Lord Chesterfield to George Faulknor, the paper *is* somewhat *whitish*, and the ink rather *blackish*; but a Chronicle of National Poetry should not be printed quite like the Cheap Repository, or the Pilgrim's Progress. The paper is of so inferior a quality, as not to stand the press; so that most copies we have seen are much damaged and torn; besides which, the printer's or bookseller's devils, entertaining probably little respect for the external appearance of Mr. Sibbald's labours, have folded the sheets with cruel inaccuracy. These are evils which require to be checked where they occur, as much as the opposite extreme of absurd and expensive decoration.

* Wynton confounds Edinburgh with Alcluyd, or Dumbarton.

† Mr. Sibbald died soon after the publication of this collection.

ART. XVII. *The Political and Confidential Correspondence of Lewis the Sixteenth: With Observations on each Letter.* By Helen Maria Williams. 3 vols. 8vo. London. G. & J. Robinson. 1803.

WHOEVER reads this striking title page, will immediately be disposed to ask some questions as to the authenticity and genuineness of the letters. But, in a particular of such indispensable importance, the editor has not thought fit, perhaps had it not in her power, to satisfy the just curiosity of the public The story she tells in the preface is imperfect, and is told very foolishly We are given to understand, in the way of allusion and hints, which were probably thought more elegant than a plain statement, that a French edition of these papers was prepared for press by certain friends of the late King: that this publication would have consisted of two volumes, one containing his Majesty's private letters, the other his compositions on public and general subjects: that, in the preface of this intended edition, it was stated that the originals 'are deposited in the hands of a personage who will think it a pleasure and a duty to communicate them to such as are curious or incredulous:' that this statement is true: that the French publication has been deferred, and the manuscript volumes have fallen into the hands of Miss Helen Maria Williams—but by what means, she says, 'it is unnecessary to mention:' finally, that she has obtained 'such proofs from men who now fill eminent offices under the republic, and from others who exercised the highest functions under Lewis the Sixteenth, and who were consequently instructed both as to the spirit and the letter, as leave no doubt whatever with respect to the authenticity of these papers.' There is nothing very improbable in any part of this story; but no part of it is here proved. In its present shape, it does not wear the slightest semblance of evidence. The public can never yield an entire credit to these volumes, until it shall receive information, in what manner the originals, if such really exist, have been preserved and collected. The literary manuscripts of Lewis probably remained in his own possession, until his private property was plundered; and then must have fallen into the hands of persons who were not likely to yield them up to the lurking or emigrant friends of the murdered Monarch. Most of the private letters now published were written under such circumstances of agitation and emergency, that copies would hardly be retained at the time; and several of them are addressed, in terms of reproach, to a personage, whom, if he has voluntarily surrendered them to the public eye, we must at once believe to have merited those severe reproaches, and to be actuated at last by such heroism, as to devote his own character

to the consecration of his Sovereign's fame. It is impossible, therefore, that we should feel ourselves completely satisfied with regard to these papers, until their progress and transmission has been faithfully traced from the closet of Lewis to the hands of the present possessor. The name of that person, too, the public is entitled to require, as well as the means by which the editor contrived to obtain copies. The manner in which her preface is written, implies an unwilling confession, that *she* has never seen the originals; nor should we, indeed, have been liable to take it for granted, that a communication of such importance would be made to a foreign refugee authoress, whose reputation in her own country has scarcely reached beyond the customers of the circulating libraries. From all these considerations, we do not hesitate to say, that the letters, at present before us, as manuscripts of Lewis, appear without any *external* evidence of that allegation, and without a single circumstance in the manner of publication, that, independently of the letters themselves, can inspire confidence in their authenticity.

Notwithstanding this dissatisfaction with the manner in which they are introduced to the public, we shall venture, without any consciousness of inconsistency, to express our persuasion, that the letters, at least most of them, *are genuine*. We owe this belief to the impressions of internal evidence. In their general manner and turn of expression, they bear a sufficient resemblance to the writings which have long been known as the avowed or ascertained compositions of Lewis; while the sentiments that predominate, and give a character and consistency to the correspondence, accord with that benevolent, but unresisting temper, which is ascribed to the King by all who had opportunities of observing him, and which is established by the uniform tenor of his conduct. He shows here all his amiable weaknesses, and his many estimable virtues. The plainness, too, of the diction in most of the letters, is altogether different from the finery and flippancy that prevail among French writers of the present school; and there are many touches of that just pathos and dignified emotion, which is natural only to a good man, in the anguish of unmerited suffering, amid the wrecks of external grandeur. To the weight of this internal evidence, we do not choose to disguise that we have admitted a strong confirmation, from presumptions of a more indirect nature. We cannot believe that the editor of the present publication would descend to assist any forgery, by which the reputation of Lewis the Sixteenth would be heightened, and his memory endeared. On the contrary, she maintains, throughout her observations, a malignant struggle against the conviction which these letters cannot fail to impress on every well-regulated

mind. A person may be capable of irrational, unfeeling, incurable bigotry, who would not be guilty of a direct fabrication; and a fanatic, who has taken up the trade of authorship, though not likely to invent proofs destructive of the favourite creed, might yet find it convenient to gratify the curiosity of the public, reserving a happy self-justification in the idea of repelling all this evidence, by the force of an eloquent and ingenious commentary. Our application of this presumption to the present instance may at first be suspected of harshness: by some courteous and gentle readers, perhaps, will be deemed ungallant. But, in an offence against generosity, and all humane feelings, we cannot permit that consideration of sex, which aggravates the delinquency, to soften the punishment. Nor will our severity appear extreme to any, who shall labour, as we have painfully done, through the large portion of these volumes, of which Miss Williams claims the demerit.

Our readers must be anxious to peruse some of the letters; and we are no less impatient to quit, for such interesting objects, the irksome and humiliating task of exposing imposture, and chastising conceited dulness. But no part of our duty may be dispensed with. The three volumes, now in our hands, furnish a most reprehensible specimen of what is called book-making. All the original materials might have been contained in a very small volume; but the article (so it will be called in Paternoster Row) is made up by a translation of all the letters, and by a long commentary on each. The style of the translation, and the temper, as well as the materials of the commentary, are defects of a different kind, which we shall presently notice. But this method of adulterating their wares, of assorting unmerchantable commodities with those of necessary demand, of making out a large bulk by a mixture of rubbish, is an imposition practised upon the public by the literary tradesmen, and ought to be repressed, if possible, by literary police. The translation is superfluous to those who have access to the original; the original is useless to those who must remain content with a translation; and the commentary, we are satisfied, will not be perused by either the one or the other. For the accommodation of the public, we hope some bookseller will undertake a correct edition of the originals alone.

We have submitted to compare the translation of Miss Williams, with a great many of the original letters; and our opinion is, that it is executed very inadequately, and betrays frequent marks of carelessness. The peculiar merits of the King's style are lost, and the character of his composition almost obliterated: in place of a natural expression, which varies with the feelings of the writer, and rises above its usual plainness, with-

out effort, into dignity or tenderness, we get for ever the tawdry bombast and the chilling affectation of Miss Helen Maria Williams. In a letter of the 26th August, 1789, Lewis has described with a just conciseness of metaphor, the state of his public feelings; 'en ne me livrant point à cet enthousiasme qui s'est emparé de tous les ordres, mais qui ne fait que *glisser sur mon ame*:' instead of which the English reader is to be sickened with 'the *torrent* of enthusiasm which hurries on all the different orders of the state, but which only *glides lightly over the surface of my soul*.' The picturesque word *torrent* is an especial favourite with this compiler of novels, who has presumed to transcribe the sorrows of the last of the Bourbons: 'Sans moyens répressifs,' (he laments, at a more disastrous period to the old Duc de Polignac), 'Sans moyens répressifs, je fais seul tête à l'orage; mais cela peut-il durer long tems?' which is thus debased, 'without any *means of repression, I stem alone the stormy torrent*; but can I long resist?' Again, 'la *tourmente* revolutionnaire a troublé toutes les têtes,' is rendered 'the revolutionary *torrent* has dizzied every brain;' which makes nonsense of a correct image. In the course of some pleasing thoughts relative to the education of the Dauphin, Lewis exclaims, 'La gloire militaire tourne la tête; eh! quelle gloire, que celle qui regarde des flots de sang humain, et ravage l'univers;' 'military glory, (we have it again) *dizzies the brain*; and what species of glory is that which *rolls its eye* over streams of human blood,' &c. The most easy passages are sometimes rendered with such slovenly negligence, that the very tone of the English language is lost as much as the elegance of the original. Of this, the following is a sufficient specimen: The sentence occurs in a letter to Malesherbes, which we shall afterwards give at full length.

'Vous balançâtes long-tems à venir respirer, à ma cour, un air qui convenait peu à la touchante simplicité de vos mœurs; mais Turgot vous fit entendre qu'il ne pouvait pas, sans vous, opérer un bien durable: il vous decida; et je l'en estimai d'avantage.' Vol. i. p. 43.

'You long balanced whether you should come and breathe the air of my court, so ill in sympathy with the interesting simplicity of your manners. Turgot made you understand, that, without your aid, he could operate no durable good: he determined you: and I esteemed him the more.' Vol. i. p. 49.

The general character indeed of the translation is, that it is either affectedly paraphrased, or meanly literal. 'L'universalité des Française,' and 'l'imperturbabilité,' must be bad phrases in any dialect; they are not *very* bad in French, because they are not very unusual; but the literal transcription of them into English is inexcusable. We have some other instances still worse; she speaks of 'an *epuration* of the legislative body,' and

of 'those princes who have *devasted* the earth.' So much for her acquaintance with the language of her original country; still more proofs might be collected to shew, that she is not yet naturalized to that of her adopted republic. For instance, 'de bonne heure,' is translated '*often*;' 'blanchisseur,' '*whitewasher*;' 'rapprochement,' which is used by the King in allusion to a projected coalition or reconciliation of parties, becomes in her version '*approximation*.' The King says to Malesherbes, 'Vous êtes, si vous me permettez de le dire, un peu égoiste dans votre vertu;' a delicate and complimentary reproach, by which he urges his request that the patriotic minister would still remain in his service, but which the translator, with rare ignorance of language and of sense, converts into coarse and absurd abuse, 'you are, permit me to tell you, somewhat an *egotist* in your virtue.'

As she has contrived, even under the control of an original text, to patch on so much unbecoming ornament, we may of course expect, in the free range of her own composition, to find her flaunting in all the colours and flowers that she can collect. We have 'lights beaming from every point of the mental horizon,' and are told of 'a phalanx disciplined against the eruption of research and philosophy. 'Though we are once permitted to 'look back through the troublous vista of the revolution,' yet we are from time to time reminded of 'our regenerated days;' one is apt indeed occasionally to forget them. In a long and senseless dissertation which she introduces, our readers will wonder why or how, on the politics of Virgil and his ivory-gate, we are informed that that poet 'sometimes threw out his republican soul athwart the cuirassed breastplate of the courtier.' Besides these pictures, which are evidently all her own, she finishes sometimes the sketches that have been left imperfect by older masters, Bossuet, for example, and Burke. The Bishop of Meaux had declared, with considerable truth and much bigotry, that modern infidelity was a detestable shoot from the fatal stock planted in the sixteenth century, by the leaders of the reformation: 'it will be found,' (says Miss Williams), 'on a closer examination, to have been rather an offset from the mysterious and monstrous trunk of papal absurdity.' She is still more happy in another attempt of the same kind.

'It was at this period that the queen, who, "like a morning star, had just appeared on our horizon," (to borrow the elegant phraseology of the orator), full of life, and splendour, and joy, *found every beam refracted, when shot into the political mist*.'

Once or twice she is somewhat playful and lightsome in her composition. The exiled tyrant of Syracuse is familiarly called *Denys*; and a comparison of somebody to Cæsar, for the purpose

of saying there was no resemblance, ends with 'let us beg pardon of the shade of Cæsar.' The most striking effort of her gaiety is directed against chemistry, in a passage which equally displays her science and her fine writing. In a billet addressed to Lavoisier, the King congratulates him on a recent discovery, and requests him to repeat the experiment in his presence: even this billet is not suffered to pass without a commentary, of which the following passage is only a part:

'The experiments, which this celebrated philosopher is here invited to repeat before the King and his family, form the basis of the French system of chemistry. But, although they met with the royal approbation, and since with the adherence of almost the whole of the chemical world, this system yet wants the sanction of that illustrious experimentalist who first laid the foundation on which this aërial superstructure is reared.'

'But leaving the fate of these *gases* to the impartial investigation of the scientific world, who can help deploring that of M. Lavoisier, and heaving a groan of execration against his hideous murderers!' Vol. i. p. 187.

Throughout all these comments, we have the same contempt of anglicism as in the translation. We have 'imperturbability' again, and 'demoralisation.' The flight to Varennes is always styled the 'evasion from Paris.' We find that 'Turgot *enacted* the spy of the court of France;' that Maurepas 'gained the *ambitioned* ascendancy over the monarch;' and that by some other ministers, the 'reputation' of some old taxes 'was duly *rehabilitated*.' Then we hear of 'a mind of no very *elevated texture*,' and of 'the slight texture of moral courage.' Lewis is censured for having 'treated geometricians and metaphysicians with *misprision*.' And we are made to pronounce, if we can, 'a new *impulsion* of patriotism,' 'civil *disruptions*,' '*lugubrious* images of the future,' and 'much *irreverential demur* respecting rights and privileges.'

Half of the first volume is occupied with letters addressed by Lewis, in the earliest years of his reign, to his different ministers; the best of these are to Malesherbes, on whose character he seems always to have reposed with unabated confidence and affectionate admiration. This part of the correspondence throws some light on the successive changes of administration; in all of which, though the King was sometimes necessitated to yield, he displays an excellent judgment of public affairs, and appears to have been actuated by the purest love of his people. Such of these letters as were written to Malesherbes, are rendered more highly interesting, by giving us a view of objects placed, as it were, under the first light and dawn of the Revolution. We are made to feel the gradual brightening of that day, which has since been overcast by so foul a storm. Even at that early period,

with a singularity of sentiments no less honourable to his patriotism than to his sagacity, Lewis seems ready to share the hopes and the enthusiasm of enlightened reformers, while he trembles with solicitude for the unknown consequences of precipitate innovation. From the 14th July, 1789, and the inglorious emigration of princes and courtiers which immediately followed that memorable æra, we trace all the feelings of the King, as they varied from day to day, and as he has expressed them, with no common powers of pathos, to his relations who had deserted him, to the revolutionary leaders, and to his friend (he possessed but one) the aged and venerable Malesherbes. This journal of his protracted sorrows closes with the letter in which he accepts the heroic offer of that friend to appear with him at the bar of the Convention. The editor has subjoined a few other letters, not found in the manuscript of the intended French publication, but confided to her (as she says) by indisputable authority; these, if genuine, prove that Breteuil conducted his negociations for foreign aid or mediation, under the sanction of the King. The other papers, added to this collection of letters, are—Instructions addressed by Lewis to the person whom he had intrusted with the Dauphin's education; detached maxims on miscellaneous topics, some original, some extracted; and notes, that were found in the handwriting of the King, on the margin of several important state papers. These last will be deemed valuable, not only as illustrative of his personal character, but because they are connected with the history of some great political transactions. The state papers, to which these remarks relate, are—Turgot's scheme of municipalities, the manifesto of the French court in the American war, and Necker's memoir on provincial administrations.

We shall now gratify our readers with a considerable number of extracts; beginning with the letters addressed, in the year 1776, to Malesherbes and Turgot. With respect to the first of these, it is proper to notice that the editor speaks of its having been communicated to her by Malesherbes himself.

'A M. DE MALESHERBES.

'*Versailles*, 17 *Avril*, 1776.

'Je n'ai pu vous exprimer assez dans notre dernier entretien, mon cher Malesherbes, tout le déplaisir que me causait votre résolution bien prononcée de vous démettre de votre ministère. Maintenant que j'ai réfléchi avec quelque maturité sur cet objet, je vais vous ouvrir mon cœur; et je transmets mes idées sur le papier, pour qu'elles ne s'échappent point de ma mémoire.

'Entouré comme je le suis d'hommes qui ont intérêt à égarer mes principes, à empêcher que l'opinion publique ne parvienne jusqu'à moi, il est de la plus haute importance pour la prospérité de mon regne que

mes yeux de tems en tems se reposent avec satisfaction sur quelques sages de mon choix, que je puisse appeler les amis de mon cœur, et qui m'avertissent de mes erreurs, avant qu'elles ayent influé sur la destinée de vingt quatre millions d'hommes.

'Vous êtes, avec le sage de Maurepas, et l'intrépide Turgot, l'homme de mon royaume qui avez le plus de titres à ma confiance; et il ne faut pas faire entendre à nos enemis communs que vous êtes sur le point de la perdre lorsque vous ne l'avez jamais plus méritée.

'Lorsque Maurepas m'eut presenté votre nom comme un de ceux qui étaient le plus faits pour donner du poids à mes projets de bienfaisance, j'étudiai en silence votre vie publique et privée; et je vis que je serais peut-être plus heureux de vous offrir une grande place, que vous de la recevoir.

'Ma cour des aides était, avant votre première présidence, une compagnie assez mal organisée, qui se laissait soudoyer par les financiers dont on lui avait donné la surveillance. Jamais un contrôleur géneral ne la trouvait en opposition, quand il lui présentait des édits bursaux odieux: Vous êtes venu, mon cher Malesherbes; vous avez purgé ce corps des membres qui le déshonoraient; et, d'après son institution primitive, il est dévenue l'asyle de l'indigent et de l'opprimé.

'*La nature vous avait donné une ame citoyenne*; et vous l'avez transmise à votre cour des aides: du moins j'en juge par les remontrances vigoureuses que vous lui avez dictées, et que j'ai placées, dans ma bibliothéque choisie, entre les Catilinaires de Ciceron et les Philippiques de Demosthenes. *Je ne suis pas encore bien sûr qu'il soit utile de jetter des maximes si philosophiques au travers d'une constitution monarchique, que tant de mécontens ont intérêt à ébranler*— mais vos remontrances respiraient le bien public; elles m'eclairaient sur des désordres que ma cour et mes ministres conspiraient à me cacher; et je ne les ai considérées que sous ce point de vue. Alors, malgré quelques principes qui ne pouvaient avoir mon assentiment, j'ai applaudi intérieurement à votre courage, et j'ai senti que vous aviez des droits à ma reconnaissance.

'Nos entrevues, où Maurepas était en tiers pour nous juger tous deux, ajouterent à mon estime; et je vous donnai le département de ma maison, vacant par la démission de la Vrillière. Vous balançâtes longtems à venir respirer, à ma cour, un air qui convenait peu à la touchante simplicitè de vos mœurs; mais Turgot vous fit entendre qu'il ne pouvait pas, sans vous, opérer un bien durable: il vous decida: et je l'en estimai d'avantage.

'Vous avez commencé votre ministère avec une vigueur qui ne contrariait pas mes principes. On se plaignait des lettres de cachet dont votre prédécesseur disposait au gré de ses favoris; et vous avez refusé d'en faire usage. La Bastille regorgeait de prisonniers, qui, après plusieurs années de détention, ignoraient quelquefois leurs crimes; et vous avez rendu à la liberté tous les hommes à qui on ne reprochait que d'avoir déplu à ces messieurs en faveur, et tous les coupables qui avaient été trop punis.

'Vous avez entrepris des reformes utiles dans ma maison militaire: mais bien des gens ont conçu des alarmes; je devais appréhender que le mécontentement n'entraînât des troubles pareils à ceux de la Ligue et de la Fronde; et alors j'ai été obligé de renvoyer a des tems plus heureux le moment si cher à mon cœur, où, bannissant une vaine pompe, je n'aurai plus d'autre maison que les hommes de bien, tels que vous, qui m'entourent, et, pour garde, les cœurs des Français.

'C'est dans cette circonstance orageuse, mon cher Malesherbes, que vous me demandez votre retraite! Non, je ne vous l'accorderai pas; vous etes trop nécessaire à mon service; et, quand vous aurez lu cette lettre en entier, je connais assez votre ame sensible, pour croire que vous cesserez de me le demander.

'D'ailleurs, ce n'est pas au moment que vous êtes obligé de céder aux circonstances, qu'il convient que vous donniez votre démission. La cour vous croirait en disgrace; et ce mot, quand il s'agit d'un sujet aussi récommendable que vous, ne doit jamais m'échapper.

'Je vous attends demain chez Maurepas. Comptez sur mon estime, et sur mon amitié. LOUIS.'

'A M. TURGOT.

'*Ce* 15 *Avril*, 1776.

'Votre administration bienfaisante, mon cher Turgot, vous fait honneur: elle obtient l'approbation de tous les Français. Vos vues grandes et sages, le bien que vous opérez, les services que vous me rendez, ne sauraient s'oublier: ils sont gravés dans ma mémoire, et encore plus dans mon cœur. Que cette lettre soit pour vous un temoignage de la satisfaction de votre roi, et de votre ami. Continuez de faire le bonheur des Français—et vouz ferez celui d'un roi qui ne veut être que le père de ses sujets. J'ai lu votre mémoire: il est rempli de vues sages et utiles; mais je crains que ce ne soit la encore le rêve d'un homme de bien. Nous le méditerons ensemble; et peut-être que par ce moyen nous pourrons réparer bien des maux, et amener d'utiles changemens. Adieu. LOUIS.'

'A M. DE MALESHERBES.

'*Versailles*, 2 *Mai*, 1776.

'Turgot, mon cher Malesherbes, ne convient plus à la place qu'il occupe: *il est trop entier, même dans le bien qu'il croit faire. Le despotisme, à ce que je vois, n'est bon à rien, dût-il forcer un grand peuple à être heureux.* Le parlement, la noblesse, Maurepas surtout, qui m'aime véritablement, demandent sa retraite; et je viens de la signer. Je ne vois pas pourquoi cet acte de rigueur, nécessaire à la tranquillité publique, entraînerait votre démission: vous avez les talens de Turgot, mais non l'asperité de son caractère; vous êtes tolérant, sans être faible; et *le bien que vous desesperez de faire aujourd'hui, vous avez la sagesse de le renvoyer au lendemain.*

Restez au ministére, mon cher Malesherbes. Votre franchise m'est nécessaire encore; et vouz la devez à votre ami, si vous ne la devez pas à votre roi. LOUIS.'

'A M. DE MALESHERBES,

'*Versailles*, 7 *Mai*, 1776.

'Votre obstination m'afflige singuliérement, mon cher Malesherbes. Sully ne quittait point Henry IV, quand ce prince avait besoin de ses lumiéres. Vous êtes, si vous me permettez de le dire, un peu égoïste dans votre vertu.

'Enfin vous voulez, votre retraite; et je vous l'accorde. Voyagez donc, puisque vous avez besoin de voir d'autres contrées que celle qui vous regrette, et que vous pouviez rendre heureuse.

'A votre retour, venez me voir, comme à l'ordinaire, et m'entretenir avec la même intimité. Mon visage, à cette epoque, ne sera pas plus changé que mon cœur; et n'ayant que de l'estime l'un pour l'autre, nous n'aurons pas besoin de nous réconcilier. LOUIS.'

In these admirable letters, no circumstance is more remarkable, than the accuracy with which the King appreciates the character of Turgot. The enlightened principles and profound views of that illustrious man, are acknowledged with unfeigned admiration; nor does Lewis appear to have been less qualified to comprehend their extent, than to discern the difficulties of their immediate accomplishment. Perfectly disposed to second his minister in all designs of attainable reform, he was better aware of those practical maxims of innovation, which, while they seem to fetter the impatient benevolence of individuals, give steadiness and maturity to the real progress of political improvements. In this important art of accommodating abstract principles to such circumstances as cannot be controlled,—in the great legislative talent of compromising the perfection that is conceivable, for the good which lies within our reach, the character of Turgot was unquestionably defective; and the regret which Lewis has expressed on that account, was felt at the time by the most enlightened friends of liberty in Britain as well as in France, and, after a mournful confirmation from experience, is now still more keenly felt by such of their posterity as inherit that generous sentiment. In that number, notwithstanding very anxious pretensions, the editor of this publication can scarcely be classed. Among the remarks on these letters, we have indeed some tedious ranting about Turgot—but his real merit, she has evidently no capacity to discriminate. It is entertaining enough to observe this unqualified panegyrist of the Intendant of Limoges, when she has occasion to mention the murder of Berthier, profess her implicit belief in the witchcraft of forestalling and regrating.

Another letter, written to Malesherbes almost upon the eve of the Revolution, is very curious. It displays the conscientious embarrassment of the King, between his speculative conviction of the utility of a free press, and his alarm at the violent fever which he saw spreading by irresistible contagion among his people.

Unprepared for political discussion by the habits of gradually diffused knowledge, that people had been exposed suddenly to the assault of enthusiastic and indefatigable demagogues, who, for the attainment of a noble end, scrupled not to inflame all the violent and licentious passions of the multitude. The prophetic touches in which Lewis anticipates the disasters that awaited him and his beloved France, are rendered more affecting by the confession, that there had been a period in his own life when his candid mind was unable to withstand the seductive speculations of Diderot and Rousseau.

'A M. DE MALESHERBES.

13 *Dec.* 1786.

'J'aime et j'estime les hommes, mon cher Malesherbes, qui, par des ouvrages utiles, prouvent qu'ils font un sage emploi de leurs lumières: mais je n'encouragerai jamais, par aucun bienfait particulier, les productions qui tendent à la démoralisation générale. Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, et leurs pareils, *qui un instant ont obtenu mon admiration*, que j'ai su priser depuis, ont perverti la jeunesse qui lit avec ivresse, et la classe la plus nombreuse des hommes qui lisent sans reflexion. Sans doute, mon cher Malesherbes, la liberté de la presse agrandit la sphère des connaissances humaines. Sans doute il est à désirer que les gens de lettres puissent manifester leurs pensées sans licenciement d'une censure quelconque: mais les hommes sont toujours si au delà du point où la sagesse devrait les arreter, qu'il faut non seulement une police sévère pour les livres, mais encore une surveillance active envers ceux qui sont chargés de les examinner, pour que les mauvais livres ayent le moins de publicité possible. Je le sais, toute inquisition est odieuse: mais il faut un frein à la licence; car, sans ce moyen, la réligion et les mœurs perdraient bientot de leur pouvoir, et la puissance royale de ce respect dont elle doit etre toujours environnée. Nos philosophes modernes n'ont exalté les bienfaits de la liberté, que pour jetter avec plus d'adresse dans les esprits des semences de rébellion. Prenons y garde: *nous aurons peut-être un jour à nous reprocher un peu trop d'indulgence* pour les philosophes, et pour leurs opinions. Je crains qu'ils ne séduisent la jeunesse, et qu'ils ne préparent bien des troubles à cette génération qui les protege. Les remontrances du clergé sont en partie fondées: je ne puis qu'applaudir à sa prévoyance. Vous avez promis en mon nom, dans l'assemblée du clergé, de poursuivre les mauvais livres, les livres impies. Nous tiendrons notre promesse, parceque *la philosophie trop audacieuse du siècle a une arrière pensée*, qu'elle corrompt la jeunesse, et tend à tout troubler, et à tout diviser. LOUIS.'

We shall introduce the two following letters, without any particular explanation. They are deeply affecting, and raise a variety of emotions. But we are disarmed by the spectacle, so near us, of ruined greatness; and when our country has been chosen as the last refuge of misfortune, we will not violate the most sacred of the laws of hospitality.

'AU COMTE D'ARTOIS.

'MON FRERE, 7 *Septembre*, 1789.

'Vous vous plaignez; et votre lettre, où le respect et l'amour fraternel guident votre plume, contient des reproches que vous croyez fondés. Vous parlez de courage, de resistance aux projets des factieux, de volonté..... *Mon frère, vous n'êtes pas roi!* Le ciel, en me plaçant sur le trône, m'a donné un cœur sensible, les sentimens d'un bon père. Tous les Français sont mes enfans; je suis le pére commun de la grande famille confiée à mes soins. L'ingratitude, la haine, arment contre moi; mais les yeux sont obscurcis; les esprits sont egarés; la tourmente revolutionnaire a troublé toutes les têtes. Le peuple croit s'interesser à sa propre cause; et c'est moi seul que j'aurais pu defendre. Je pourrais donner le signal du combat: mais quel combat horrible! et quelle victoire plus horrible encore! Pouvez-vous croire que j'eusse triomphé, au moment où tous les ordres de l'etat se reunissaient, où tout ce peuple s'armait contre moi, où toute l'armée oubliait ses sermens, l'honneur, et son roi? J'aurais donné, il est vrai, le signal du carnage; et des milliers de Français auraient été immolés..... Mais vous direz peut-etre, le peuple a triomphé; il vous a prouvé par ses excès que ses sentimens n'etaient pas si genereux, qu'il osait abuser de la victoire, et poignarder son ennemi vaincu.—Ah! ne comptez-vous pour rien le calme d'une bonne conscience? J'ai fait mon devoir; et, tandis que l'assassin est dechiré par les remords, je puis dire hautement, je ne suis pas responsable du sang versé; je n'ai point ordonné le meurtre; j'ai sauvé des Français; j'ai sauvé ma famille, mes amis, tout mon peuple; j'ai la conscience intime d'avoir fait le bien: mes ennemis ont eu recours aux forfaits. Quel est celui d'entre nous dont le sort est le plus digne d'envie? Cessez, mon frère, cessez de m'accuser: le tems, les circonstances, et mille causes qu'il serait trop long de detailler, ont fait les malheurs de la France. *Il est trop cruel de me les reprocher.* C'est se joindre alors à mes ennemis, et dechirer ce cœur paternel. Mon frére, je me suis sacrifié pour mon peuple: soyez persuadé que, ce premier devoir rempli, je saurai me sacrifier pour vous et pour les Français qui vous ont suivi. Déjà votre éloignement excite des murmures; déjà les factieux se promettent bien de nous accuser, et de tirer parti de cette demarche, qu'ils appellent en ce moment une fuite, une conspiration, un attentat. Ces idées se propagent; elles produiront de funestes resultats, si la tranquillité n'est point retablie; si votre rappel devient impossible; si je neglige l'occasion favorable de rappeler en France les Français exilés volontairement, et qui doivent s'empresser d'obéir au vœu que je me ferai alors un devoir de manifester. Adieu, mon frère! n'oubliez pas que je vous aime, et que je m'occupe de vous. LOUIS.'

'A M. LE COMTE D'ARTOIS.

'MON FRERE, 20 *Mars*, 1791.

'Les gentilshommes qui vous ont suivi, et qui pour nous ont abandonné leur patrie, se plaignent amèrement. Ils ont tout quitté pour l'honneur, pour defendre le trone et l'autel. (Il ne s'agit pas de savoir si vous et eux avez sagement agi: souvent je vous ai attristé, en vous

portant mes plaintes à ce sujet.) Leur sacrifice est d'autant plus méritoire, que, delaissés, exilés, pour ainsi dire, dans le fonds des provinces, les bienfaits de la cour venaient rarement les chercher, et que leur patrimoine n'en était pas moins consacré a la défense de l'état. Les gentilshommes se plaignent qu'ils sont maltraités par la haute noblesse, qui daigne à peine les regarder, et ne veut voir en eux que des inférieurs. Cependant le dévouement de cette classe de la noblesse me paraît digne d'éloges. Quel fut son intérêt en embrassant la cause des princes exilés? Il n'en fut point pour elle; et cependant elle prend les armes, se prépare au combat, tandisque ceux qui feignent de les mépriser semblent n'avoir fui que pour se soustraire au danger. Mon frère, ayez des égards pour ces braves Français, qui se sont dévoués; et ne souffrez pas qu'ils soient avilis. Dites leur, que toute ma noblesse m'est chere, et que je porte tous les Français dans mon cœur. Ah! je souffre trop de votre absence, pour ne pas gémir de cet exil qui me laisse à la merci de mes ennemis, qui me fait envisager, pour ma noblesse et les princes de mon sang, les plus grands malheurs. *Oh! dites souvent aux Français, malgré mon vœu, malgré mes ordres, reunis sur les bords du Rhin, que j'ai perdu tout esperance;* qu'il m'est impossible de terrasser l'hydre des discordes, de réconcilier les esprits, de ramener la paix intérieure; *mais que, dans les grands dangers qui m'environnent, il me reste encore une ressource, celle de savoir mourir.* LOUIS.'

It is but a few days prior to the date of this last letter, that we find Lewis addressing a paper of instructions to the tutor of his son. On the most important points of education, he appears to have reflected with justness and good sense; and he expresses his suggestions with all the tenderness of paternal solicitude. But this paper derives its chief interest from the contrast which it presents between the benevolent and elevated feelings of the writer, and his cruel situation at the time it was composed. Such sentiments would command applause, were they to proceed from a Sovereign in the height of his popularity, elated with prosperous fortune, and cherished by the admiration of his subjects. But the unhappy Lewis was loudly and savagely calumniated by the people, to whose good he had devoted every wish; and it was while surrounded with unrelenting fanatics or sanguinary assassins, struggling to divide the spoils of his hereditary power, that he was anxiously occupied to impress upon his son's heart the love of this very people.

'Parlez lui souvent de la gloire de ses aïeux; et offrez lui, pour modèle de conduite, Louis IX, prince réligieux, avec des mœurs et de la vérité; Louis XII, qui ne veut point punir les conjures du duc d'Orléans, et qui reçoit des Français le titre de père du peuple; *du grand Henri, qui nourrit la ville de Paris, qui l'outrage,* et lui fait la guerre; de Louis XIV, non lorsqu'il donne des loix à l'Europe, mais lorsqu'il pacifie l'univers, et qu'il est le protecteur des talens, des sciences, et des beaux arts.'

'Souvenez-vous de lui enseigner que c'est lorsqu'on peut tout, qu'il faut être très sobre de son autorité. Les loix sont les colonnes du trône: si on les viole, les peuples se croient deliés de leurs engagemens. Les guerres civiles nous ont appris que c'est presque toujours ceux qui gouvernent, qui par leurs fautes ont fait repandre le sang humain: le roi juste est le bon roi.'

'Que l'adulation n'annonce jamais les caprices de votre élève: mon fils n'apprendra que trop tôt qu'il sera libre un jour de satisfaire les siens.

'Exaltez à ses yeux les vertus qui font les bons rois; et que vos leçons soient proportionnées à son intelligence. Helas! il ne sera que trop tenté d'imiter un jour ceux de ses ancêtres qui ne furent recommandables que par des exploits guerriers.'

'Apprenez lui avec Fénélon que les princes pacifiques sont les seuls dont les peuples conservent un réligieux souvenir. Le premier devoir d'un prince est de rendre son peuple heureux: s'il sait être roi, il saura toujours bien défendre ce peuple et sa couronne.'

Surely, these sentiments will, at no remote period, attach the sympathy of all mankind to the fortunes and character of Lewis the Sixteenth. In the list of princes, there is not another example of such genuine benevolence, of patriotism so warm and so pure. Many sovereigns have greatly surpassed him in political capacity; some have displayed more comprehensive and profound views of legislative reform; but in passionate affection for his subjects, he had no superior, no equal. To be the father of all the French, was a principle never absent from his thoughts; it was the predominant feeling of his life; which, at the age of twenty-two, dictated the invitation of Malesherbes to his cabinet; and at the age of thirty-nine, upon the scaffold, inspired the forgiveness of his murderers. He had diligently read the history of his country, and felt a natural veneration for that long line of ancestors, in which he could number more than one patriot king; but it is to the virtues of Henry that we find him most frequently recurring with generous emotion; to 'the great Henry, who gave bread to Paris while it treated him with outrage;' and to the good Sully, who felt (as the King has expressed it in a letter to the Duc de Charon) 'l'amour chevaleresque pour tous les Français.' During convulsions, in which, almost from the first, designs were avowed against his crown, and which from the very first were stained by assassination and massacre, the idea of shedding the blood of Frenchmen was regarded by Lewis as an impious parricide; and we see him in these letters rejecting, with indignation and horror, all the proposals that were suggested by his courtiers and the princes of his family, for reestablishing royal authority by some desperate effort of power. In the happier days which preceded the revolution, he anxiously cherished a spirit of

tranquillity in the foreign relations of his kingdom; for the exceptions which his reign offers to that system, were a sacrifice, to the maxims of his ministers and to public opinion, of his own love of peace; the most important, perhaps, of all the virtues that a king can possess,—certainly the most important under a constitutional monarchy, since an opposite disposition is so difficult to be restrained. But his love of the people shone forth most eminently in the disposition which he manifested, throughout his reign, to cooperate with disinterested reformers, in the limitation of his own prerogative, and the enlargement of popular rights. Lewis the Sixteenth was a revolutionist; and his name will be added by posterity to that memorable band of enthusiasts, who built their hope upon foundations unalterably solid, but attempted to realize the superstructure with incautious haste; who, looking forward upon the prospects of the human race, saw, without illusion, what is disclosed by the light of philosophy, and is established in the laws of nature; but, with a benevolence too sanguine, grasped at possession prematurely, forgetting that the arrangements of nature are developed and perfected imperceptibly with the lapse of ages.

At a time when some of these set no limits to their zeal, and had unknowingly associated themselves with anarchists ready for every crime, Lewis was calumniated as insincere in his professions of attachment to national freedom. But every person, by whom the events of that period have been candidly considered has long ago acknowledged the falsehood, and even the absurdity of that accusation; though this Miss Williams still, with cold-hearted petulance, strives to urge it. Her understanding must be as impenetrable by the force of evidence and reason, as she seems devoid of all sympathy or reverence for afflicted virtue. She can force a sneer of derision, while she treads upon the ashes of Lewis. This charge of insincerity is belied by every feature of his character, and by all the details of his conduct: throughout his whole career, and in the melancholy scenes that closed his life, he preserved an entire consistency with the measures he had pursued while in full possession of power. The real truth is, that the few deviations of his behaviour from what was clamorously demanded by the leaders of the mob, are to be ascribed to the bad faith which was so manifest on their side; who had procured his acceptance of a constitution which they never intended to retain, and were wholly occupied with schemes of fresh innovation and farther destruction. It would have been dishonourable to the character of Lewis as a king, if he had made no efforts, how unavailing soever, to restore tranquillity; and to his feelings as a man, if, in such circumstances of peril and of horror, he had made no

effort for the personal safety of his family. He would have been more than man, if he had upheld an unshaken systematic constancy, when, with no friend to counsel or to cheer him, surrounded by treacherous advisers and implacable enemies, he was engaged in a competition for the favour of a fanatic mob, against men who were restrained by no principle and by no system.

It is possible that the monarch might have averted some of those miseries which overwhelmed himself and his people, had he been endowed with more commanding talents for the conduct of political affairs. Lewis was unqualified for enterprise; he wanted boldness; he was devoid of resources. But to describe him as unequal to the difficulties in which he was involved, is only to deny him the praise of transcendent genius. In the calm, speculative exercise of his understanding upon the manners and transactions of mankind, he has evinced no inconsiderable powers of penetration. He was not often deceived in the characters of the men who acted under his eye; and from the assiduous study of history, he had acquired habits of practical and candid judgment. Nor should it be overlooked, in estimating his unfitness for the tremendous situation in which he was placed, that the revolution of France does not display an instance of a single character, in which a profound capacity, or even any remarkable degree of talent for the direction of affairs, may be seen in union with a pure and magnanimous patriotism. The greatest blemish in the King's understanding, was his implicit superstition; yet it must be acknowledged, that even this was quite untainted by intolerance, while it was in harmony with all the other weaknesses, and all the 'passive graces' of his meek, susceptible temper.

We shall now resume our extracts. The following letter was written by Lewis, to the brother who most nearly resembled him, a few days after his return from Varennes.

'A MONSIEUR.

'23 *Juillet*, 1791.

'Il faut donc encore que mon malheur pèse sur vous, et que vous soyez une nouvelle victime de la fatalité qui me poursuit. Lorsque je cherchais un asyle, le repos, l'honneur, et des Français, je n'ai trouvé sur mes pas que la trahison, un abandon cruel, l'audace du crime, et la fatalité des circonstances. Plus d'espoir de ramener les Français; plus de justification à espérer, de liberté à obtenir, de bien à faire, de plein gré, de mon propre mouvement. Il y a quelques jours, que j'étais un vain fantôme de roi, le chef impuissant d'un peuple tyran de son roi, esclave de ses oppresseurs; aujourd'hui je partage ses fers; je suis prisonnier dans mon palais; je n'ai pas même le droit de me plaindre. Séparé de ma famille entière, mon épouse, ma sœur, mes enfans, gémissent loin de moi: et vous, mon frère, par le plus noble dévouement vous vous êtes condamné à l'exil; vous voilà dans les lieux où gémissent

tant de victimes que l'honneur appelait sur les bords du Rhin, mais que mon amour pour eux, mes ordres, ou plutôt mes pressantes invitations, rappelaient dans le sein de leur triste patrie. Ils sont malheureux, dites vous? oh! dites leur que Louis, que leur roi, que leur père, que leur ami, est plus malheureux encore. Cette fuite, qui m'était si nécessaire, qui devait peut-être faire mon bonheur et celui du peuple, sera le motif d'une accusation terrible. Je suis menacé: j'entends les cris de la haine. On parle de m'interroger! Non, jamais! tout le tems qu'il me sera permis de me croire roi de France, j'éviterai tout ce qui tendrait à m'avilir. Oh! mon frère, espérons un plus doux avenir: le Français aimait ses rois: qu'ai je donc fait pour être haï, moi qui les ai toujours portés dans mon cœur? Si j'avais été un Néron, un Tibere.....Qu'un doux espoir nous reste encore. Puisse la première lettre que je vous adresserai, vous apprendre que mon sort est changé. LOUIS.'

The aged aunts of the King had taken refuge in Italy from the distresses of the revolution. Several letters are addressed to them, full of affection. We cannot deny our readers the pleasure of perusing one of them.

'A MESDAMES.

'25 *Mars*, 1792.

'Nous avons supporté avec peine, mes chères tantes, votre éloignement; mais il était nécessaire à votre tranquillité, et à votre bonheur: il n'en a pas moins fallu, pour me priver des consolations que j'étais sûr de trouver dans votre tendresse pour moi. Fixées dans la capitale du monde Chrétien, vous jouissez, dans toute leur pureté, des bienfaits de la religion: offrez, pour moi, au Roi des rois vos ardentes prières, que le Ciel irrité s'appaise, qu'il rende à la France ses beaux jours, aux Français la confiance qu'ils me doivent, et que du sein des discordes le bonheur renaisse. Alors je dirai, J'ai assez vécu.

'Vos dernières lettres me sont parvenues dix jours plus tard qu'a l'ordinaire: c'est une suite du désordre qui existe dans les postes. Lorsque tout est désorganisé, les correspondances ne sont pas plus sûres que la marche des événemens.

'Mes enfans sont languissans: la reine trouve la permanence de sa santé dans son ame, et moi dans ma résignation aux décrets de la Providence.

'Adieu, mes chères tantes! La distance qui nous sépare n'a aucun droit sur ma tendre affection pour vous. LOUIS.'

This breathes all the feelings of domestic tenderness. The following is in a different tone, and expresses, with equal force, the firmness of personal dignity. It appears to have been suggested by a proposal from the Girondin administration, for some decisive measures against that party who still professed a regard to the monarchical, as well as to the other branches of the new constitution.

'AU MINISTRE ROLAND.

'21 *Mai*, 1792.

'On peut m'étonner; mais on ne peut m'inspirer aucune crainte, et jamais maîtriser mon ame par ce moyen. Je sais que le parti dont vous me vantez le patriotisme, la puissance, et la grande influence, est capable de tout oser: mais je sais aussi que le parti qui lui est opposé est plus nombreux, moins exalté; il se compose d'une majorité de gens de bien, qui doivent enfin montrer de l'audace, et user du courage de la vertu. Je sais que je puis succomber; que les méchans sont capables de tout, que le peuple égaré croit à leur patriotisme, à leur désintéressement: mais, monsieur, j'ose prédire que le triomphe de ces gens là ne sera pas de longue durée. Si je succombe, ils voudront partager mes dépouilles. Ce partage amenera de funestes divisions: les gens de bien pourront alors respirer un moment: c'est alors qu'ils retrouveront leur courage: leur cause est juste: ils triompheront; les Français seront vengés. Un jour peut-être ils daigneront justifier ma mémoire. Monsieur, je ne verrai point ces gens là; et jamais je ne pourrai transiger avec eux. Voilà ma résolution; elle est immuable. LOUIS.'

In the next letter, which we shall quote, Lewis describes the circumstances of a public outrage to which he was subjected.

'A MONSIEUR.

'17 *Juillet*, 1792.

'Il faut, mon frère, vous donner une idée d'une scène bien scandaleuse. Je vous ai parlé de certaines propositions qui m'ont été faites par deux partis, qui souvent votent ensemble aux Jacobins. Ces hommes, qui se détestent cordialement, qui déjà paraissent se méfier les uns des autres, et qui finiront par se faire une guerre à outrance, voudroient, je ne sais pas trop pourquoi, me ranger sous leurs bannières. Insensible à leurs promesses, à leurs menaces, sourd à leurs invitations, j'ai constamment refusé de servir leurs projets. Ils ont voulu me faire peur. Une députation de l'assemblée m'avait été envoyée pour des objets importans. On a réussi à composer cette députation d'hommes exaltés, de ces têtes mal organisées qui brusquent les convenances, et qui se croient les égaux des rois, et les êtres libres par excellence, parce qu'ils ont de forts poumons, qu'ils reçurent en partege le don des injures, et qu'ils ne savent jamais respecter le malheur.

'La députation est introduite. Un certain Gensonné portait la parole. Il parle bien, même avec quelque modération. Cependant des tournures singulières des expressions hazardées, défigurent son discours. J'ai repondu: j'ai fait parler le cœur à la place de l'esprit: j'ai oublié que j'étais roi; et je me suis exprimé avec franchise.

'La reine était présente. Un jeune homme à tête ardente, l'air très étourdi, a pris la parole: il a gourmandé la reine. 'C'est vous, Madame,' a-t-il dit, 'qui perdez le roi: ce sont vos conseils: vous n'êtes entourée que de royalistes; et vous eloignez les patriotes.' La reine a repondu avec dignité: il a haussé les épaules. Je voulais appaiser le courroux de ce censeur indiscret. Il a repris la parole avec effronterie,

et a daigné m'assurer que j'étois un brave homme, mais induit en erreur par des traîtres, des ennemis de la patrie. Que repondre, pour désabuser cet homme? Garder le silence, adresser la parole à l'orateur de la députation, voilà ma conduite. J'ai apperçu que plusieurs des députés presens partageaient le délire, appelloient cela du courage, et applaudissaient ce jeune audacieux, que l'on m'assure se nommer M . . . . n de Th . . . . . e.

'J'ai racouté cette anecdote à plusieurs membres du côté droit. Ils m'ont assuré que le lendemain, dans une des allées du jardin des Feuillants, ce jeune député s'était vanté de son audace, et qu'il s'était cru le digne rival de Caton, parce qu'il avoit manqué d'égards à une princesse. Voilà quels sont les hommes qui prétendent gouverner la France. O mon frère, plaignez moi!—— LOUIS.

We approach now the first scene of those horrors, which, in the history of man, civilized or savage, have never been surpassed. During the night that succeeded the 10th of August, the Royal family were thrust into a wretched apartment adjoining to the hall of the Assembly. Next morning, the King addressed this note to the President.

'A M. VERGNIAUD.

'Monsieur le President, 11 *Août*, 1792, 10 *heures du matin*.

'Dans le tumulte d'une séance aussi orageuse, si dechirante pour ma sensibilité, si outrageante pour la dignité de la représentation nationale, je pense que le corps législatif s'occupera des moyens de calmer l'effervescence populaire. Je ne demande point justice du grand attentat qui m'a forcé de venir avec ma famille me placer avec confiance sous l'égide des délegués du peuple. Il y aurait trop de coupables à punir pour penser qu'un grand exemple intimidât les pervers. *Que le mal qui est fait soit oublié; que la paix renaisse des cendres du palais de mes pères!* Je ne croirai pas encore que le sacrifice égale la douleur profonde que je ressens de la violation des loix, et de la subversion de l'ordre public.

'Les travaux de l'assemblée exigent qu'on me choisisse un asile où je puisse trouver la sûreté de ma famille, et jouir moi-même d'un bien que l'universalité des Français attendent de votre solicitude.

'LOUIS.'

On the same day, he wrote to his brother.

'A MONSIEUR.

'11 *Août*, 1792.

'*Dans le sein de l'Assemblée Nationale.*

'Le sang et le feu ont tour-à-tour signalé l'affreuse journée d'hier, mon cher frère. Contraint de quitter mon palais avec ma famille, de chercher un asile au milieu de mes plus cruels ennemis, c'est sous leurs yeux même que je vous trace, peut-être pour la dernière fois, mon affreuse position. François Premier, dans une circonstance périlleuse, écrivit, 'tout est perdu, hors l'honneur:' moi, je n'ai plus d'autre espoir que dans la justice de Dieu, dans la pureté des intentions bienfaisantes que je n'ai jamais cessé d'avoir pour les Français.

Si je succombe, comme tout porte à le croire, souvenez-vous d'imiter Henri IV. pendant le siége de Paris, et Louis XII. lorsqu'il monta sur le trône.

'Adieu! mon cœur est oppressé: tout ce que je vois, tout ce que j'entends, est fait pour m'affliger. J'ignore quand et comment je pourrai désormais vous écrire. LOUIS.'

Two days after, just as he was about to be consigned to the custody of Santerre in the Temple, he addressed another letter to this brother, which he intrusted, concealed in a piece of bread, to a friend who did not quit him till the last moment. As he delivered it into his hands, he is said to have shed a tear: 'c'est un éternal adieu' (he said) 'que j'addresse à mon frère.' But the person who undertook this service, was arrested upon the frontiers; and the paper was deposited among the archives of the commune, where it remained till after the destruction of Robespierre.

'*Paris, ce* 12 *Août*, 1792, 7 *heures du matin.*

'Mon frère, je ne suis plus roi. Le cri public vous fera connaître la plus cruelle catastrophe .... Je suis le plus infortuné des époux et des pères! .... Je suis victime de ma bonté, de la crainte, de l'espérance. C'est un mystère inconcevable d'iniquité. On m'a tout ravi; on a massacré mes fideles sujets. On m'a entraîné par ruse loin de mon palais; et l'on m'accuse! Me voilà captif; on me traîne en prison. La reine, mes enfans, Madame Elisabeth, partagent mon triste sort. Je n'en puis plus douter! je suis un objet odieux aux yeux des Français prévenus .... Voilà le coup le plus cruel à supporter. Mon frère, bientôt je ne serai plus. Songez à venger ma mémoire, en publiant combien j'aimais ce peuple ingrat. Un jour rappelez lui ses torts, et dites lui que je lui ai pardonné. Adieu, mon frère, pour la dernière fois! LOUIS.'

None of our readers can have forgotten the letter, in which Malesherbes, from his retirement, and at the age of eighty, intimated to the President of the Convention, that, having been twice called to the council of him who was then his Master, at a time when the situation was envied by all, he felt himself bound to offer the same service now that it was regarded as dangerous. Lewis wrote to Malesherbes, from his prison.

'A M. DE MALESHERBES.

'*Du Temple.*

'Je n'ai point de termes, mon cher Malesherbes, pour vous exprimer ma sensibilité pour votre sublime dévouement. Vous avez été au devant de mes vœux: votre main octogénaire s'est étendue vers moi pour me repousser de l'échafaud; et, si j'avais encore mon trône, je devrais le partager avec vous, pour me rendre digne de la moitié qui m'en resterait. Mais je n'ai que des chaînes, que vous rendez plus légères en les soulevant. Je vous renvoye au ciel et à votre propre cœur, pour vous tenir lieu de recompense.

'Je ne me fais pas illusion sur mon sort. Les ingrats qui m'ont détrôné ne s'arrêteront pas au milieu de leur carrière: ils auraient trop à rougir de voir sans cesse sous leurs yeux leur victime. Je subirai le sort de Charles Premier; et mon sang coulera, pour me punir de n'en avoir jamais versé.

'Mais ne serait-il pas possible d'ennoblir mes derniers momens? L'assemblée nationale renferme dans son sein les dévastateurs de ma monarchie, mes dénonciateurs, mes juges, et probablement mes bourreaux! On n'éclaira pas de pareils hommes; on ne les rend pas justes; on peut encore moins les attendrir: ne vaudrait-t-il pas mieux mettre quelque nerf dans ma défense, dont la faiblesse même ne me sauvera pas? J'imagine qu'il faudrait l'adresser, non à la convention, mais à la France entière, qui jugerait mes juges, et me rendrait, dans le cœur de mes peuples, une place que je n'ai jamais mérité de perdre. Alors mon rôle à moi se bornerait à ne point reconnaître la compétence du tribunal où la force me ferait comparaître. Je garderais un silence plein de dignité; et, en me condamnant, les hommes qui se disent mes juges, ne seraient plus que mes assassins.

Au reste, vous êtes, mon cher Malesherbes, ainsi que Tronchet qui partage votre dévouement, plus éclairé que moi; pesez dans votre sagesse mes raisons et les vôtres: je souscris aveuglement à tout ce que vous ferez. Si vous assurez cette vie, je la conserverai pour vous faire ressouvenir de votre bienfait: si on nous la ravit, nous nous retrouverons avec plus de charmes encore au séjour de l'immortalité.

'Signé, LOUIS.'

Will it be credited, that a woman—once a woman of England, could be roused to no stronger language, by such a catastrophe of such a man, than to 'lament that his country was not spared the offence of his death?' We did once intend to have irritated and disgusted our readers with some specimens of her remarks on the letters that we have extracted. But we respect their feelings. At the present moment, we willingly spare such a violence to our own. When the tragic spectacle closes, it is most pleasing to leave the scene altogether; to repose upon our sorrow, undisturbed by coarser objects; and indulge the best emotions of nature, unchecked by any recollection of the prejudiced and unfeeling portion of mankind.

ART. XVIII. *Remarks on Currency and Commerce.* By John Wheatley, Esquire. 8vo. pp. 262. London. Cadell & Davies. 1803.

THIS work, Mr. Wheatley informs us, was undertaken to elucidate the principles of national wealth; which, notwithstanding the Inquiry of Dr. Smith, are still, it seems, very imperfectly understood. We may add, that it appears to have originated in none of those party motives, or other temporary

views, which give rise to the greater number of pamphlets published upon topics connected with national policy. The conduct of the work, as well as its subject, is purely speculative; and it is delivered to the public, we are told, rather as the prospectus of a larger book, than as a separate treatise.

Such being the design of this tract, and so high its pretensions, notwithstanding that diffidence which has dictated the hint about a future work, our attention is naturally directed to examine whether any thing is performed by Mr. Wheatley to justify his hopes of effecting those reforms in political œconomy which the celebrated writings of Smith, Hume, and the French œconomists, have failed to accomplish. We will venture to predict, that after our readers shall have considered the abstract which we purpose to submit, they will participate in our disappointment, and agree with us in awarding to Mr. Wheatley's errors and inaccuracies alone the praise of originality. The general character of the work, indeed, is easily given. Our author has learned the language, and treasured up the results of those investigations which, during the last fifty years, have effected so great an improvement in political science; but he has failed in forming to himself distinct views of the principles upon which these new and enlightened doctrines depend, and has not always followed out the line that separates them from the errors to which they succeeded. He has conceived, that, in order to recommend these improvements to practical statesmen, nothing more than a new description of them is required; and, for the purpose of varying the light in which they should be viewed, he has partially involved them in obscurity. His work is thus a mixture of unquestionable conclusions, and false or doubtful demonstrations. In so far as it exposes those errors of the mercantile system, which were demonstrated by Smith, its reasoning is irresistible; but the other departments embrace conclusions as full of error as any which that system presents. The manner, too, in which the most received doctrines are delivered, favours of a confidence in their originality, often bordering upon the ludicrous, and leads us constantly to imagine that Mr. Wheatley forgets the very existence of the works from whence he derived his instruction. He attacks the errors of the mercantile theory, as if no one but himself had ever doubted of its truth; and proposes the very principles upon which all well informed men have long ago rejected it, in the same language of discovery that might have been used had no such writers as Hume or Smith ever existed. Thus, while the introduction of each succeeding subject promises some novelty, and the deception is kept up by the occurrence of topics not immediately perceived to be erroneous, a little attention is always

sufficient to develop the characteristic feature of the work—a mixture of unfounded with unquestionable tenets; of errors, which are never likely to gain ground, with propositions which in the present state of the science may be reckoned truisms; of doctrines true, but old, with reasonings in their support, as erroneous as they are novel and unnecessary. The meritorious parts of this tract we shall with pleasure specify as we proceed in such an examination of it as may be necessary to justify these general strictures, and to bring the subject before our readers.

The First chapter contains an exposition of the fundamental principles upon which our author grounds his objections to the leading doctrines of the mercantile theory. This theory, he remarks, has not been attacked with sufficient success by Dr. Smith, in consequence of his omitting a minute examination of the properties of money. To investigate these, is Mr. Wheatley's primary object; and he describes them in three propositions—that an increase of specie is an increase of currency, and not of capital; that an increase of currency is not an increase of wealth to a nation insulated from all commercial intercourse with foreign states; and that no country can ever accumulate a greater currency than will enable it to circulate its commodities, as nearly as possible, at par with other nations, unless the freedom of mutual intercourse be obstructed by physical impediments, or by legal restrictions.

Our readers will immediately perceive, that Mr. Wheatley has gone a great deal farther than was necessary, in order to refute the fundamental propositions of the mercantile theory. This theory is not erroneous because it inculcates the utility of money, but because it prescribes an exclusive preference for money. In order to refute such a doctrine, it was not necessary to prove that money forms no part of national wealth; but only that money, like every other commodity, will be possessed by a people in proportion to their effective demand for it—their occasions for using it, and their ability to purchase it. Mr. Wheatley's third proposition, therefore, if accurately demonstrated, was quite sufficient to overthrow the tenets of those who maintain that the commercial policy of a nation should be directed to the multiplication of the precious metals, rather than of any other commodity. This demonstration is made up, partly of general remarks on the origin of that erroneous idea, almost copied from the Wealth of Nations, (vol. i. p. 431, & vol. ii. p. 139), and partly of the arguments used by Mr. Hume, in his celebrated Essay on the Balance of Trade.

But to deny that an increase of specie is an increase of the national capital, was not more unnecessary than incorrect.

Money is a part of the capital of every nation. It is that part which is required for the distribution of the other portions. The precious metals have a two-fold use. They either supply the materials of certain valuable manufactures, or they are coined and employed as a medium of exchange. A greater quantity of bullion will never be accumulated in any country than the demands of the inhabitants of that country require for their utensils and ornaments on the one hand, and for performing their exchanges on the other. If a greater quantity is turned towards the plate manufacture, and there is a deficiency of coin, a portion of the plate will be melted and coined. If there is a superabundance of coin, and a demand for plate, the coin will be melted and manufactured; and if there is both more money and more plate than the trade and the luxury of the society requires, bullion will be exported to purchase something that is in request. But this is exactly the predicament in which every other commodity is placed If there is more unground corn in any country than the sustenance of the cattle requires, and the inhabitants are in want of bread, part of the grain will be ground to support them. If there is a superabundance of flour or meal, and a want of fodder, the cattle will be fed with the overplus of the ground corn; and if both the grain and fodder are more than sufficient in quantity, the overplus will be exported, to buy such commodities as the society may require. The increase of bullion, like the increase of grain, is an augmentation of capital. Both are valuable commodities. The one is necessary for subsistence, and is besides subservient to the gratification of certain luxurious appetites; the other is required for traffic, and procures, also, certain luxuries of a peculiar kind. Were the wealth of a nation suddenly increased, either by the acquisition of grain or of bullion, and were it at the same time cut off from all connexion with other states, an extravagant use would be occasioned, in the one case, of provisions—in the other, of ornaments and plate: and if the acquisition were so great that the nation had more than it could in any way make use of, a portion would be entirely lost, in the one case, of grain, which would be left to rot; in the other, of money, which would circulate, or be manufactured, in unnecessary profusion. The abundance of grain would, indeed, produce much better effects than that of bullion, because it forms the chief necessary of life; but the superabundance of both would be equally useless, because the surplus of a necessary article is as useless as the surplus of a luxury or convenience.

It is evidently absurd, then, to say that specie does not form a part of the national capital. It forms a most valuable portion

of the wealth of every commercial country, of every society in which exchanges are carried on, and luxuries esteemed. The increase of specie, too, is in itself clearly the increase of wealth, while the number of exchanges, or the tastes of mankind, require it; and if the increase outstrips the demand arising from these causes, still the overplus is, in every sense of the word, capital; because it may be easily exchanged for the commodities of other nations. The error of the mercantile theory consists in supposing that this part of national wealth is more valuable than the other parts, and that its augmentation deserves the peculiar care of government. It would have been just as great an error to promote, by arbitrary regulations, the importation of more grain or wool than the wants of the people require. A superfluity either of metals, or subsistence, or clothing, is equally useless.

But it is not a little singular, that Mr. Wheatley should admit the case of gold and silver mines to form an exception to his general position. Money, he observes, is a medium of exchange, for which an equivalent has been given, and no more than an equivalent can be received. It can therefore only circulate, not increase, the produce and productive stock of the community. But the gold and silver ores are an original produce, for which no equivalent has been given; which, though they may be coined by government, will soon be exchanged, if superabundant, for the commodities of other nations, and which always afford a clear gain, besides the expense of production. Now, it is very evident, that the manner in which the precious metals are procured cannot possibly affect this question. An equivalent must be given for them in every case, and in every case a profit must accrue from the purchase. If they are obtained by mining, the equivalent is the expense of mining, including all the losses which arise from the numerous unsuccessful speculations of that kind. If they are obtained by commerce, the equivalent is the goods which purchase them. The capital employed in mining is replaced with a small profit; and the capital employed in importing bullion is also replaced with a profit. In which way soever a nation obtains the precious metals, it gains all that convenience or gratification which their use affords to commerce or taste. The precious metals, indeed, when used as coin, distribute the stock of the community, without directly increasing its quantity.—The profit that arises from the use of them is nevertheless as certain as that which arises from any other branch of the circulating capital, or from the fixed capital, to which it bears, as Dr. Smith has remarked, a striking resemblance in several respects. We have insisted at greater length on these erroneous

views of Mr. Wheatley, because they border very nearly upon the fundamental principles of the œconomists, and have probably been introduced into his speculations from some indistinct conception of that ingenious theory. It is fair, however, to remark, that though they frequently recur in the course of his subsequent reasonings, they affect the language more than the substance of his statements, which, in so far as they are levelled at the main errors of the mercantile system, do not materially depend on the portion of error mingled with his preliminary views.

In the Second chapter, our author discusses, at considerable length, the theory of the balance of trade. That theory, he observes, is founded upon the position, that a nation can only be enriched by the excess of its exports above its imports, which must be received in money. Unless the money thus acquired shall be retained, it might as well not have been imported; and if the money is re-exported for other commodities, these might as well have been procured, in the first instance, by an exchange of the goods sold to procure the money. The detention of the money, on the other hand, is impossible, without an entire insulation of the community from all commercial intercourse; and, even if it could be effected, the community would lose exactly the value of the goods previously exported to purchase it. The theory of the balance of trade is therefore proved to be absurd, by a reference to the principles laid down in the first chapter.

In all this, there is more of indistinctness and repetition, than of error. It is true that more money cannot be permanently retained than the wants of the community require: But this was proved before, and the proof of it was sufficient to overthrow the theory of a balance. It is incorrect to say, that unless the money is retained, the goods might as well have been sent at first to the market where the commodities in request are sold. The community gains by the intervention of a circulating medium, which enables it to trade with countries where there is no demand for its own produce. It is still more inaccurate to maintain, that if a superfluity of money could be retained, the community would lose the price which it had paid for the superfluous quantity. The price was itself a surplus, and had no more value than the surplus of specie. Both the one surplus and the other, derived their value from their capability of being exchanged for commodities which are useful. Mr. Wheatley would have saved himself much trouble if he had formed at first a steady view of the fundamental error of the mercantile system, viz. the *exclusive* preference which it unnecessarily gives to the commerce of the precious metals.

Having refuted the idea of a balance by referring to the doctrines previously laid down, he now proceeds, after some needless repetition of those doctrines, to explain, from the facts respecting foreign exchange, the manner in which an equilibrium of money is always preserved. When two countries trade together, and the standard of their currency is the same, that is, according to our author's acceptation of the words, when there is the same relative proportion of currency in both, money only serves as a measure of equivalency, not as a medium of exchange. When the currency of one country exceeds that of the other, more goods are imported than exported by the former—its debts to the latter exceed its claims; and the bills against it, being more numerous than the demand for them, sell at a discount. For the same reason, the bills against the creditor country bear a premium, their number falling short of the demand. The depreciation of currency from abundance, is therefore the cause of that excess of debts above claims, which occasions a remittance of bullion to the creditor country, and the payment of a premium, in proportion to the expense, risk and profits of this remittance. This is the only view of Mr. Wheatley's general explanation, which we are able to collect from the long and confused statement which he gives of the subject. Some of his expressions, indeed, we have not been able to comprehend. 'The course of exchange,' he says, 'is the expedient to which mankind have resorted for maintaining the purity of the common measure of equivalency.'

The excess of currency in any country is unquestionably one cause of what is called an unfavourable balance of trade. But instead of being the only cause, or the ultimate fact, it is a much less general circumstance than the excess of debts above credits, which our author has deduced from it alone. A few obvious considerations will render the indistinctness of this view sufficiently apparent.

Money, like every other commodity, always follows the effectual demand for it. But sometimes the traders, whose business it is to supply the market with specie, import too much. The overplus will be re-exported—that is, other goods to the amount of this overplus will be imported; and before the specie which buys them is remitted, a debt is constituted against the importing country. The depreciation of specie from abundance, is therefore one cause of the excess of debts above claims; but it is no more a cause of this excess, than the depreciation of any other exportable commodity, in consequence of an overstocked market; and the equality of debts and claims will be restored in all cases alike, by the actual exportation of the goods for which value has been received. If there is no demand for the bullion, or for the goods, in the foreign market, the balance will remain against the

country which has imported, and the bills expressing its debt will continue to sell at a discount: But this will happen, whether the excessive importation has arisen from the abundance of its currency, or from the length of credit which it obtains from other countries, and which enables it to receive supplies before it sends out the equivalent. The equality of debts and claims will be restored; and the bills will become saleable at par, as soon as the goods, of what kind soever, are exported, for which the imports were obtained. Exchange might be at par, while nothing but goods on one side was given for money on the other; and the bills against a nation might bear a premium, while it exported nothing but bullion. The difference between the exports and imports, from whatever cause it arises, must in every case constitute the difference between the value of the bills of two nations trading together.

Mr. Wheatley, after some statements of fact tending to illustrate the impossibility of retaining a superabundant quantity of coin in any country engaged in foreign commerce, remarks, that at various periods during late years, the balance of trade has been unfavourable to England, notwithstanding the quantity of money coined, and the constant excess of exports above imports, according to the custom-house accounts. In order to explain this apparent discrepancy, our author endeavours to prove that the excess of exports above imports is not a complete test of a favourable balance of trade; that the course of exchange is the only certain proof which we have of such a balance; and that the influx or efflux of money corresponds with the course of exchange. That the balance of export and import, as stated in the custom-house books, affords no decisive proof of the real balance of credit and debit, is a proposition of which few have entertained any doubts. Mr. Hume and Dr. Smith, indeed, pass it over as unquestionable, without adducing arguments in its favour. But if Mr. Wheatley means to assert, that there is any difference between the *real* balance of exports and imports, and the balance of trade, we apprehend he is using a language hitherto unknown in the speculations of political œconomy. If, by the course of exchange, too, he means the apparent rate, as he certainly must, it is evident that he has omitted one consideration of very material importance—the effects of an alteration of the purity of the currency, or, which is the same thing, of the quantity or the credit of such part of the currency as cannot be exported when too much multiplied. Whenever, from any excess or discredit of this description, the market price of bullion becomes greater than its mint price, an apparent fall in the course of foreign exchange must take place, although the real balance of trade may be at par, or favourable; that is, the claims of the nation may equal or exceed its debts.

Proceeding upon the supposition, that the exports of this country have, at different times, been greater than its imports, while an unfavourable balance of trade was indicated by the course of exchange, our author attempts to reconcile the inconsistency, by examining the state of foreign expenditure during those times. This, he observes, could only absorb the money that would otherwise have been imported, if a balance had been due. But it is, in fact, entirely transacted by bills; that is to say, either by the remittance of bills in favour of this country, obtained instead of the balance due; or by drafts against this country, which constitute a debt if no balance is due. Now, as no balance can be due, according to our author, while the course of exchange continues below par, the foreign expenditure must be defrayed by drafts upon this country, as indeed the public reports state it to have been; in other words, the amount of this expenditure, which does not appear in the custom-house books, must be added to the imports; and it is to meet this expense, that the excess of exports, otherwise unaccounted for, has been made. In all this reasoning, we can discover no inaccuracy. It is, indeed, sufficiently ingenious and correct; tending to exhibit, in a very clear point of view, a palpable deficiency in the custom-house returns, as measures of the commercial balance; and supported by the official documents respecting the public foreign expenditure, as well as by the fact of the suddenly increased exportation to Germany during the years of war.*

But, in the remainder of Mr. Wheatley's speculations upon the same branch of his subject, we meet with a remarkable degree of carelessness and confusion. The foreign expenditure, he maintains, can never alter the standard of currency; that is, the relative proportion of money in the nation. But if the total balance of trade is unfavourable, the imports must exceed the exports, according to Mr. Wheatley's own admission, p. 73. Now, all that part of the imports, which is accounted for by the custom-house books, falls short of the exports: therefore, the whole foreign expenditure, public and private, is justly added to the ostensible imports. But this addition renders the imports greater than the exports, since the course of exchange and the total balance is unfavourable. Hence, it is evident, that the balance is turned by that part of the imports which the custom-house books do not account for, viz. by the foreign expenditure. If the ex-

* By comparing the tonnage with the value of the cargoes in the public returns for years of war, the increased exportation will be found to consist chiefly of the finer manufactures, according to Dr. Smith's remarks, from which more illustration of the subject might have been derived, than Mr. Wheatley has thought proper to draw.

port, which, according to Mr. Wheatley, is caused by the foreign expenditure, were sufficient to balance that expenditure, the whole exports would be equal to the whole imports, and no debt would remain. The existence of the debt, or of the unfavourable exchange, is a complete proof that the amount of the foreign expenditure exceeds the difference between the exports and the ostensible imports. Mr. Wheatley concludes, in general, (and the position, so far as we know, is entirely new), that a permanent excess of the exports above the imports, of any nation, can only be produced by foreign expenditure, and by the consumption of bullion; but chiefly by the former of these causes. Now, there is one very obvious, and much more constant cause of this excess: the increase of domestic resources, and the consequent demand for an augmentation of the circulating medium. This will not, indeed, raise the proportion between the precious metals and other commodities, higher in one country than in all the rest with which it trades; but it must operate in maintaining the proportion between the number of exchanges to be performed, and the medium which performs them,—unless, in so far as the substitution of a cheaper instrument of commerce may, to a certain extent, preclude the necessity of exporting a surplus, in order to procure the precious metals. We cannot leave the two first chapters of this tract, without remarking, that the refutations of Sir James Steuart's objections to Mr. Hume's arguments, given at the end of each, are extremely loose, and would be quite unsatisfactory to any one predisposed in favour of the mercantile system.

The object of the third chapter, is to lay down the true principles of national wealth as derived from commerce, in opposition to the hypothesis of the balance of trade, refuted in the foregoing parts of the treatise.

All direct foreign commerce, according to Mr Wheatley, is the exchange of equivalents—and no nation can be said to gain any accession to its wealth by such an operation. The merchants, who act as the factors in this intercourse, receive a commission: but this, being ultimately paid by the country to which they belong, and of which they circulate the produce, does not tend to increase its opulence. The transit trade, our author conceives to be in a different predicament. The nation which acts as an entrepôt to the commodities of foreign countries, receives the commission from foreigners, and gains so much clear profit at their expense. This profit is, however, paid in produce, not in money; and forms, therefore, no accession of specie.

'In whatever instance,' says he, 'a state is possessed of the transit trade, by forming an intermediate mart for foreign produce, whether it

unite with its agency, the profits of the carrying trade, as was formerly the case with Holland, or whether it be a simple entrepôt, as at present with Hamburgh, it derives an accession of wealth from foreign nations proportionate to the amount of the commission. The city of London possesses some portion of this transit trade, and has some business as an intermediate agent; but, on account of our repugnance to the establishment of free ports, the policy of which I shall hereafter consider, it forms, in a much greater proportion, a depôt for the domestic and colonial produce of Great Britain, than an entrepôt for foreign produce.

'Though, therefore, the intermediate agency of an entrepôt forms an exception to the general principle, that no profit be [is] attainable in the commercial interchanges of independent nations, yet it has no tendency to effect [affect] the general question [proposition], that a nation is enriched by the increase of produce, and not by the accumulation of money.

'If it may be established as a fundamental principle, that all commerce is an exchange of equivalents, it follows as a necessary consequence, that whatever tends to an increase of equivalents, tends to an increase of opulence; and that the commercial wealth of a nation should be estimated by the whole value of its equivalents collectively, and not by that portion only which returns an equivalent in bullion, which there is no possibility of detaining, and which, when parted with, can only repurchase the equivalent that bought it.' p. 110, 111.

Now, we do not think that there is any thing in the mercantile system more erroneous than this doctrine; and the error unfortunately extends to the very fundamental principles of commercial prosperity. Trade enriches a nation, by enabling it to exchange what it has no use for, against what it stands principally in need of; and not by the profit or commission that may be realised by its merchants. It is absurd to say that all trade is merely an exchange of equivalents: if this were the case, no exchange would ever take place at all. The exchange is always a gain to both parties, and each receives more than he gives away. In the case of an absolute and proper surplus—that is of such an excess of particular commodities, as could in no way be used at home, there is a direct gain of the whole articles obtained in exchange; and, in every case, there is a great gain to the nation, out of which the profits of the trader are defrayed. If one country produced on corn, but raised twice as much cotton as it had any use for, and another had a great superfluity of corn, but no materials for clothing, it is evident that a trade of barter between those two countries would be in the highest degree beneficial to both; and would augment their real riches in an incalculable proportion—in a much higher proportion, and much more directly, than if they were to apply themselves to the transit trade, and carry their profits, instead of their produce, to be exchanged for these mu-

tual necessaries. The effect of this barter, too, would not be confined to the exchange of the existing superfluity; it would stimulate both countries to increase their industry, and enlarge the quantity of their exchangeable produce. The one would cultivate its corn fields, and the other its cotton plantations more extensively; and the population of both would increase, along with its ability to feed and clothe an additional number of inhabitants. To this simple case, all the complicated operations of commerce are ultimately reducible; for all the advantages of trade centre in this, that it enables us to get what we want, by giving what we have no use for, and stimulates our industry to increase the quantity of that surplus, which is good for nothing, but for being exchanged against something else. It is impossible, therefore, to commit a greater error than Mr. Wheatley has done, in asserting that all trade of exchange is absolutely unprofitable, and that a real gain can only be made by the transit trade. This fundamental error, however, runs through the whole of the third chapter; and towards the conclusion, it is defended by the example of the greatest commercial states, particularly Holland, Hamburgh, and the Italian republics; all of which, says our author, acquired their principal wealth by the profits of the transit trade, p. 165, 6, 7, 8. We will venture to assert, that no part of the mercantile theory is more absurd, than the peculiar favour with which it regards the carrying trade, as a special means of levying contributions upon foreigners. And the only difference between this feature of the mercantile theory, and the positions just quoted from Mr. Wheatley, is, that he favours the carrying trade (of which the entrepôt trade forms a branch), as a means of levying those contributions, not in the shape of money, but of goods. The merchant who employs his stock in circulating the commodities of foreign nations, receives a profit from them; but the effect of this employment of his stock, is to replace two foreign capitals; to promote the industry, and increase the wealth of foreigners. Had he employed the same stock in circulating the produce of his own country, it would have yielded him quicker returns of profit—would have promoted the industry, and increased the wealth of his countrymen. Had he employed it in exchanging the produce of his country against that of foreigners, it would still have yielded profit; and would have increased the wealth of the country more than the carrying trade can do—though less than the home trade.

In every sort of foreign commerce, both in the foreign trade of consumption, and in the carrying trade, the profits of the merchant come from the foreign country, inasmuch as the use of foreign commodities enables the capitalist to obtain returns. In the

foreign trade of consumption, he receives his profit out of that valuable surplus which his operations have added to the stock of his country, by procuring a useful for a superfluous portion of property. In the carrying trade, his gains arise from the value which he has added to the stocks of foreign nations, by means either of his capital alone, as in that carrying trade which employs foreign vessels; or of his capital, and some part of the fixed stock of his own country, as in the entrepôt trade, and in that carrying trade which employs no foreign vessels. The direct augmentation of wealth, which his country receives in the shape of his profit, is the same in all these cases. That much more important increase of opulence, which it receives from the replacing of stock, is confined to the foreign trade of consumption, and the latter branch of the carrying trade; but is, beyond all comparison, greatest in the foreign trade of consumption.

The example of those commercial nations, whose wealth has been promoted by the transit trade, is of no moment in the present discussion. Their attention was directed to that branch of traffic, from the extent of their capitals, and the peculiar circumstances of their situation with respect to other states. The acquisition of the carrying trade is, in fact, a certain consequence of an overflowing capital, and a convenient maritime situation. But it is an acquisition not to be desired, until every other channel of employment is full. Mr. Wheatley appears to us almost equally inaccurate in his general observations upon the wealth of nations, as deduced from their exports. In order to estimate the comparative wealth of Great Britain and the Continental states, he thinks it sufficient to compare the total exports of Great Britain with the exports of those other states. It is unnecessary to remark, that without exporting a single ton of goods, a nation may acquire prodigious wealth; and that the nett revenue of a country engaged in foreign trade, cannot be calculated from its exports, any more than from any particular branch of its domestic circulation.

The remaining part of this chapter we consider as by far the best part of Mr. Wheatley's whole treatise. It is occupied with remarks upon the commerce of Great Britain, which he divides into three branches—the home trade, the colonial trade, and the transit trade. We particularly refer our readers to his remarks upon the East Indian commerce, which are, for the most part, ingenious and liberal, and which we wish he had not coupled with the very loose and declamatory allusions to the provincial government of Rome, p. 161. The errors of his general opinions concerning the transit trade, we have already taken the liberty of noticing. His more minute and practical

observations upon the benefits of a free port law, are entirely unexceptionable. But we must observe, before leaving this chapter, that there is a great degree of inaccuracy in his division of the subject. By home trade, our author understands the exchange of domestic produce, or domestic manufactures, against foreign produce or manufactures. This is exactly what all other writers denominate a foreign trade. Pursuing the erroneous idea formerly pointed out, he considers the extent of this traffic, and of the colonial surplus of imports, as the true tests of national wealth; and omits altogether the most important branch of traffic—the internal commerce of the country—that of the country and the towns—that, in short, which all other writers have denominated the home trade. Yet Mr. Wheatley considers the colonial trade, which is in fact a home trade, as a branch of foreign commerce—otherwise, he would scarcely enumerate it as one of his three divisions; and he bestows, at the same time, unbounded eulogium on the penetration of the late Inspector-General, for having discovered that the imports from the colonies are not like those from foreign nations, but are to be viewed as remittances, in so far as they exceed the exports thither. It is inconsistent, too, with all accuracy of principle to maintain, that this excess of imports is the only gain which accrues from the colonial trade. The excess is not a gain from the colony trade; it is a remittance of rent to the non-resident proprietors of colonial property, and of interest to the moneyed men whose capitals are lent upon colonial securities. The abolition of some branches of the colonial monopoly might indeed augment this surplus, but not exactly in the manner described by Mr. Wheatley.

'If' says he 'some proportion of the produce now forced out to our colonies were diverted to an independent state, for an equivalent in foreign merchandise, and the same quantity of colonial produce were notwithstanding imported, the nation would be enriched by the proportion directed to the continent for a foreign equivalent. If, by a forced exportation of seven millions of produce to the West Indies, we received only eight millions in return, which is the present state of our trade, the nation gains [would gain] but one million by the bargain. But if, instead of this policy, we exported four millions out of the seven to the continent, to be returned in an equivalent of foreign produce, and the eight millions of sugar were received, with the aid of only three millions from home, the nation would gain five millions by this trade, instead of one. I have no means of estimating the proportion of supply which the planter would draw from this country, if he were at liberty to choose his market; but it is obvious, that the less exports he take [takes] from us, and the more produce he bring [brings] to us, the more he advances the interests of his country; and not by the more [the more] he take [takes] from us, and the less he bring [brings] to us, as the Balance of Trade [Theory of a Balance of Trade] has endeavoured to persuade us.' p. 132, 133.

The great omission of circumstances in this statement of the subject, is too obvious to require farther notice.

Upon the whole view of these three chapters, which contain Mr. Wheatley's examination of the mercantile system, and exhaust the main part of his design, we have little hesitation in giving it as our opinion, that he should not expect to convert one supporter of the old theory, whom the copious and masterly refutation of Dr. Smith, and the luminous, though less correct arguments of Mr. Hume (apparently more familiar to our author) have failed to undeceive.

The remaining part of Mr. Wheatley's work does not require so minute a consideration;—the subjects which it discusses are more concise, and the discussions themselves more consistent. This, however, is the department in which we meet with the greatest portion of error; and the general conclusions are here as unfounded as those of the former chapters were self evident. The two leading doctrines of Mr. Wheatley, in this part of his speculations, are, the rapid progressive depreciation of currency, and the necessity of a reformation in the paper circulation of Great Britain. The former of these topics he has needlessly divided into two discussions, separated by the latter. We shall offer a few remarks on both his theories, in the order just now mentioned.

1. It is well known to our scientific readers, that Dr. Smith made use of the average prices of grain, as the most accurate measure of the value of the precious metals at different periods. His reasons for adopting this standard, were partly drawn from his peculiar habit of considering labour as the only measure of value, and partly from those circumstances in the nature of grain, which render it of all commodities the most constantly exchanged, the most frequently compared with money, the most regularly demanded at all times, and the most universally used in all places. The common opinion, that silver had been sinking in value, with more or less rapidity, ever since the Romans left Britain, was therefore examined by Dr. Smith, and refuted, upon a comparative view of the money prices of grain. He endeavoured to shew that, as the increase of corn had outstripped the supply of the precious metals before the American mines were discovered, the value of silver was rising previous to that event;—that, since the influx from those mines completely produced their effects upon prices, the value of silver has again begun to rise, or, at least, is by no means falling;—and that all the additions which continually come from thence, are absorbed by newly formed or improved communities; consumed in manufactures; lost during transportation; or carried away to the markets of Asia.

To the conclusions of Dr. Smith, Mr. Wheatley, who does not appear to have read the celebrated digression concerning the value of silver, and who calls the adoption of corn, as a standard, an *assumption*, opposes the table of prices drawn up by Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn, which he terms a masterly refutation, and an acquisition highly honourable to the literature of the age. Upon the results of the table, with regard to the constant depreciation of currency since the Norman conquest, our author builds all his arguments. Without any hesitation, he draws the most startling inferences; and never stops a moment to inquire what may be the solidity of the document on which he has founded so lofty a mass of new doctrine.

As money, says he, is now above 25 *per cent.* less valuable than it was at the end of the American war, a monied income or capital of 400l., has, since that period, become worth less than three. A landlord may raise his rent at the expiration of his leases; but, in the mean time, his fortune is daily decreasing, in proportion to the length of the tenant's bargain. All annuitants in the public funds are becoming poorer; the country nominally gives them the stipulated interest, but in reality only fifteen shillings in the pound, if the money was invested twenty years ago,—and not nine shillings, if it was invested at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The salaries of officers are reduced at the same lamentable rate. The value of the capital lent to Government diminishes in the same proportion—a proportion which is rapidly accelerating: But if only the present rate continue, in half a century the whole national debt will be paid off, except one shilling in the pound. Against the injustice of this method of liquidating our debts, Mr. Wheatley inveighs with considerable warmth; and expresses his hopes, that instead of continuing devoutly to wish for this great consummation, the public will have their eyes so far opened, by the calculations of Sir G. Shuckburgh, that the fear of the debt being paid too soon will alone be felt.

Such, though somewhat condensed, is the substance of the two chapters upon the depreciation of currency. They are altogether composed of corollaries to Sir G. Shuckburgh's table; and we conceive that the easiest way of quieting the fears of those who may partake in our author's apprehensions, and of exposing the radical fallacy of his ingenious system, will be to examine this table. It has indeed excited much less notice than it deserves, if it is entitled to the smallest proportion of the confidence thus liberally bestowed by Mr. Wheatley.

Sir G. Shuckburgh published his table, in the very valuable paper which he communicated to the Royal Society, upon the

methods of ascertaining a standard of weights and measures*. In this inquiry, the table forms a kind of digression; it is casually introduced; it does not seem to be marked by the same accuracy which distinguishes the main body of the paper; the documents are only referred to in the most general way; and, far from appearing to have taken the general views which must influence all speculations about the analysis of price, he does not seem to be aware of the scientific nature of his subject; he prefaces the table by an apology for descending below the dignity of philosophy; addresses it to the historian and antiquary; and though he alludes to the writings of Smith and Steuart, yet he appears only to have consulted them in order to pick up detached sums and dates.

The first column gives those years (that is, *single years*) from 1050 to 1795, for which he has lists of prices: the next gives the average price of wheat; the next twelve give the prices of twelve other articles: then follows a column with the mean prices of these articles; a column with the prices of husbandry labour, and another with those of beef and mutton. The remaining columns exhibit the comparative view of the value of money, according to these various prices in the *seven* years for which alone he has tolerably full lists of prices, viz. 1050, 1350, 1550, 1675, 1740, 1760, and 1795. And from the results of this comparison for these few detached years, he forms, by interpolation, his table of depreciation.

Now, it must be observed, in the first place, that the prices are only obtained from the averages of single years, and that of these there are only six, beside the year 1550, which is assumed as a standard. This is a radical objection to the whole calculation. We know well how much prices vary from year to year; and how difficult it is to find any lists of them in ancient authors, unless when the motive for recording them was the extraordinary cheapness or dearth. It is plain, too, that besides variations from scarcity, different circumstances of a local or temporary nature operate at particular periods, to raise or depress the prices of commodities. Thus, it actually happens that the three last of the seven years were seasons of extensive warfare, and that two of these were years of uncommon scarcity, as well as foreign war. The consequences of forming a calculation from single years, may be perceived in the erroneous conclusions to which the column of corn prices would lead us. The price of wheat for 1350, is the very same with that for 1550, according to Sir George Shuckburgh's own account; yet Dr. Smith has clearly proved, not from the state of the corn market for two single years, but from a variety of general tests, corroborated also by a series

* Phil. Trans. 1798. Part I.

of successive facts, that during this very interval the money price of wheat was regularly falling from twenty to ten shillings the quarter.

But farther, the lists of prices in the different years are not equally complete: the mean value of money is estimated from five articles only, together with wheat in 1050, the first year of the series; and from eight articles, together with wheat and day labour in 1350. Two of the twelve miscellaneous articles are, ale and small beer; commodities, of which the prices are extremely complex, and influenced indeed by the operation of direct taxes. According to the table, the price of the former doubled between 1650 and 1675, while that of wheat fell in the proportion of eleven to nine. The price of beef and mutton increased between 1740 and 1760, in the proportion of two to three. During the same interval, the prices of oxen, cows, and sheep, scarcely augmented sensibly; the rise was only in the proportion of three hundred and forty-three to three hundred and forty seven.

Some inferences may be drawn from the table, which are in our apprehension equivalent to a *reductio ad absurdum*. It would follow, for example, from a comparison of the price of labour in husbandry with the price of wheat at different times, that the lower orders were in a better condition a hundred years after the Conquest, than they were during the latter part of the American war. A day's wages could, at the former period, purchase nearly half a bushel of wheat: at the latter period, the same wages could purchase little more than a quarter of a bushel.

As Sir George Shuckburgh has not detailed the particulars of his *data*, or described the methods by which he formed his mean estimates of articles for each year, we cannot decide with respect to the limits within which he may have attained an accurate calculation. But we may be permitted to doubt the possibility of getting tolerably just averages of the prices of such commodities as vary extremely in quality or in quantity, or in both. Of the first kind is cheese, and perhaps malt liquors; of the second, oxen; of the third, horses. In consequence of these considerations, we are the less surprised to find that the table of depreciation, rashly constructed, by interpolation, from such scanty and deceitful materials, is inconsistent with some of the very *data* which are given in the larger table, but not used in the calculation. The value of money for 1550 being 100, its value for 1150, by the interpolation table, is 43. But if its value is calculated from the prices of cattle in the larger table, it is only 33; and from the prices of cattle and wheat together only 31. The one table gives 88 for the value in 1450; the other gives 100 or 95, according as we take the price of cattle singly, or that of cattle and wheat together.

But there are various objections of a more general nature to the whole plan of this table, which must already have forced themselves upon our readers. If the depreciation of money is to be estimated from the rise in the money price of commodities, an allowance is necessary for the effects produced upon price, by the variation in demand and supply, which takes place according to the progress of society, and the different circumstances of its situation. If articles of various kinds are differently affected by these changes, the average of the whole variations of money price will certainly not give any approximation to the variations of the value of money. If one article has grown cheaper, in consequence of improvements in the mode of raising or manufacturing it, and another has grown dearer in consequence of a decreasing demand, and diminished attention to its production or fabric, although we should admit that specie has all along been growing more plentiful, so as to counteract the effects of the former circumstances, and to assist those of the latter, the medium of the change produced in both cases will evidently furnish no document of any such increase of specie. It would be absurd, therefore, to estimate the proportion of this increase, by averaging the contrary effects of opposite circumstances altogether independent of the state of currency; or, which is the same thing, to take a medium between an increasing and decreasing series of prices, as a test of the variations in the standard of money. The same remark may be made with respect to averages of increasing series of prices, and prices which are stationary, or which alternately increase and decrease. Yet, in the table of Sir George Shuckburgh, some of the articles are nearly stationary, as wheat; others most rapidly increase, as cattle; others, as poultry, first increase, and then decrease. If wheat and malt liquors are assumed as *criteria*, while their circumstances vary according to laws so different from those which affect the other commodities, it seems difficult to discover why other articles, such as various manufactures, should not be admitted to influence the calculation, since they are much more similar to grain and liquors, than they are to the produce of pasture land. With respect to the value of money in a larger sense, the quantity of comforts and conveniences which it can purchase, has surely been, upon the whole, greatly increased during the period which has elapsed since the discovery of the American mines produced their greatest effect. Many of the necessaries of life have also become cheaper; and some commodities have been disclosed to us, which may be substituted for those necessaries.

Taking this complex view of the subject, (and we can scarcely venture to think that any other is compatible with the nature of

the question, at all events we are sure that nothing like proportions can be ascertained in so great a mixture of causes), it should seem that the value of money has, upon the whole, not decreased in any *ratio* similar to that of Sir George Shuckburgh's table, even admitting his *data* to have been sufficiently extensive, and his mode of computation quite correct. This supposed fact, of the great depreciation of money, is one of those which may be safely admitted, only in so far as they can be accounted for.

The continued influx from the American mines, has been demonstrated by Dr. Smith to be quite inadequate to produce any progressive effects upon the general prices of commodities in the European commonwealth. No one now conceives it possible to effect any partial rise of prices by the increase of specie currency. The augmentation of paper money is proposed by Mr. Wheatley as the cause of that enormous depreciation which he maintains, or rather assumes, to have taken place. But this is both inconsistent with the facts on which his speculations are founded, and repugnant to more general principles. It is inconsistent with the facts; because, according to Sir George Shuckburgh's table, the rate of depreciation was much more rapid during the century after the Conquest, than during the century after the Restoration; during the period when neither new mines were discovered, nor paper currency existed, than during the period when, according to Mr. Wheatley, the effects of the newly discovered mines were succeeded by the still more powerful influence of the paper system*. The explanation of the supposed rapid decrease, by the effects of paper currency, is no less inconsistent with the most obvious views of the manner in which the general depreciation of currency is effected by the disproportionate issue of paper. For if that issue becomes so great, as to cause a rapid depreciation, the market price of the precious metals must rise proportionably above their mint price, and the specie must either be withdrawn from circulation altogether, or a permanent discount must be established between coin and paper currency; neither of which effects it is pretended has taken place.

It is impossible, therefore, to account for the supposed depreciation upon any principle hitherto proposed; and we have endeavoured to shew, that the evidence upon which the supposition rests, is of the most flimsy and suspicious nature. There can

* We must attend, in this estimate, to the period between 1675 and 1760, and not to the period ending 1795 or 1800. All the numbers after 1760 are interpolated by the aid of the mean for 1795; a year of such extraordinary scarcity, according to the table itself, that the average price of wheat was nearly double its medium price in 1780.

remain no doubt, then, that the conclusion must be given up which Mr. Wheatley has confidently built on such grounds; and we may add, that even if the whole extent of the *data* were admitted, the fallacy of some positions would remain incontestable. It would still, for example, be erroneous to consider the gradual extinction of the national debt, by the depreciation of currency, as a breach of public faith, or to omit the consideration of those changes confessedly beneficial to annuitants, which are daily taking place in the price of various commodities, or to rank the adjustment of wages among the duties of the legislator, as Mr. Wheatley very distinctly does in p. 196.

II. The other fallacies which we conceive our author has committed, upon the subject of paper currency, are by no means so remarkable, either for novelty or boldness, as that which we have just now been examining. The excess of paper he imputes to the progress of taxation; and, after many eulogiums upon the constitution of the Bank of England, while it remained the sole regulator of the paper circulation of the country, he ascribes the difficulties under which the Bank has laboured, as well as the whole commercial and financial embarrassments of the nation, during the late war, to the increase of country banks, and the permission of their notes. These banks, he contends, in times of tranquillity, enlarge their issues too much; and, in times of alarm, contract them to a proportionable degree. Their notes are, in such emergencies, more liable to suspicion than bank paper. The effects of the distrust excited by these, reaches the Bank, whose issues are thus extended in consequence of the country paper being depreciated, as they are contracted from its redundancy in prosperous times. The same redundancy, he adds, increases all those bad effects of paper currency which we have already attended to. In order to render this reasoning conclusive, Mr. Wheatley must prove,

First of all, That the right of engaging in an important department of trade, ought to be confined by Government to one great mercantile company, merely because private individuals may overtrade in this, as in every other line.

Secondly, That the trade of banking is so very peculiar in its nature, as to destroy all prudence, and even to obliterate the fear of failure, in those who undertake it.

Thirdly, That the Bank directors are likely to know the credit of those whom they deal with, better than the merchants in country towns know that of their customers; and are likely to superintend the whole circulation of the community more accurately of themselves, in the metropolis, where they have each separate concerns, than when assisted by the vigilance of four hundred agents in different quarters, whose lives are devoted to the task.

Lastly, That the central bank has not a sufficient control over all country banks, when at every time its notes bear to their's the same relation that specie bears to its own; more particularly, when its obligation to pay in specie has been suspended, without any analagous suspension in favour of the country banks. It is indeed absurd in the extreme, at present to complain of the country banks increasing the paper currency beyond its just bounds. Until they also shall be absolved from the obligation to fulfil their contracts, no advocate for the Bank of England ought to hazard an allusion of this kind. These establishments still remain under the various checks, which secure the honesty, and quicken the prudence of every private trader. They have the most powerful inducements to pursue the line of conduct most beneficial to the public, and the best means of discovering the direction in which that line runs. To expect, from their thoughtlessness and avarice, a general depreciation of the currency, by a universal over-issue of notes, would be as ridiculous, as to suppose that the Oporto merchants will ever deluge the country with port wine.

Before taking leave of Mr. Wheatley's treatise, we must again express our disappointment at the scantiness of the new matter which it displays, upon so various and important a field of inquiry, after the splendid promises of the preface. The minuteness, however, with which we have gone through almost all his reasonings, is a sufficient proof that we value his performance more than the common ephemeral publications on political topics. And as he has evidently paid considerable attention to a subject, removed, by its manifold difficulties, above the reach of ordinary reasoners, we trust that he will continue to prosecute his speculations, until he shall make some real addition to this important branch of science. The style of the tract is extremely careless, and in many parts tainted with a disagreeable vulgarity of expression. It is frequently deficient in grammatical purity; and for these imperfections, it only atones, by a very laudable sacrifice of all pretensions to ornament. But, in a work of this nature, these are very trivial faults; and we should not have even thus shortly hinted at them, had we met with much to gratify us in the more substantial parts of the entertainment.

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